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3.

ANARCHIE REVIVING,

OR, THE

Good old Cauſe

on the Anvile.

BEING

A Diſcovery of the preſent Deſign to retrive the late CONFUSIONS both of Church and State, in ſeveral Eſſays for LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

By ABRAHAM PHILOTHEUS, an Engliſh Proteſtant.

For the uſe of a Perſon of Honour.

Avolent quantum volunt paleæ levis fidei, quocunque afflatu Tentationum; eò purior maſſa frumenti in horrea Domini reponetur. Tert. præſcrip. adv. Hæret.

LONDON, Printed in the Year 1668.

ANARCHIE REVIVING,

OR, THE

Good old Cauſe

on the Anvile.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I Read the Books you ſent me with ſome heed, pretending, ſome for the *Intereſt of England*, others for the *Safety of the King and Kingdome*, all for the *publick Good*, which every good man would readily imbrace. But in peruſing the ſeveral Pleas, I found the Queſtion to be, Whether the preſent *Uniformity* or former *Toleration*, the preſent *Order* or former *Confuſions*, or at leaſt a Mixture of theſe, were the happieſt Conſtitution for *England*. So that what I expected to be an Olive-branch of Peace; proved but a pricking Thorn, fitted into a Crown, to expoſe our Saviour and his Church a ſecond time to vexation and pain.

'Tis ſtrange that men ſhould think a *Parliament* ſo glorious for forming a golden Scepter for *Jupiter*, would be diverted to hammer out an iron Trident for *Neptune*. Their Counſel (like *Praiſe-God Barebone*'s Petition) had ſuited another *Rump*, whoſe Intereſt lay in *breaking*;

but not this preſent Parliament, whoſe glory is to be *Healers* of their Nation.

Who-ever will ſearch into the bottome of moſt of theſe mens Deſign, ſhall find them (while *Cromwell* and *Vane* are ſilenced with a Rope) bold Advocates for the *Good old Cauſe*. Some indeed ſpeak the King fair, but in as ambiguous language as the *Covenant* ſpake his Father: as may be inſtanced in the Relative [*His*,] and [*Le Roy le veult*,] in the 87. page of the Propoſition; being (when a keen ſword ſhall be brought to decide the ſenſe) as intelligible of Deliverance onely expected from *God*, as from the *King*. And haply this and other Slip-knots were left on purpoſe, to take the benefit of a Comma when time ſhall ſerve.

Others avouch plainly the Democratick Principles, That *Government riſes from the People's Conſent, and is radically founded in them*; as the Authour of Liberty of Conſcience aſſerteth, p. 42. Not conſidering, that in *Adam*'s many hundred years Monarchy he never asked his Subjects Conſent: and had he not fallen, he had prevented the *French* Deſign, and continued Univerſal Monarch to the World's end. And though the King hath prudently forbidden all publick Diſputes concerning Prince and People's power; this Authour ventures in many pages to circumſcribe his Prince.

And for the Parliament, though they are beholden to them for an *Act of Oblivion*, whereby their forfeited Lives are ſecured: yet ſo unkind are they, that one of them *profeſſes himſelf not very carefull how he carries himſelf towards them*, Prop. pag. 4. he upbraids them *for paſſing Acts againſt Innocent men*, p. 5. calling them *Murtherers*, p. 74. and *men of a hardy Conſcience*, ('twas too

too broad to ſay *brawny*) p. 76. *that eſteemed trouble for ſin a Romance*, and accuſing them for *incompetent Judges of a wounded Conſcience*, as *never acquainted with ſuch things*, p. 77. he tells them *the damned will cry out on their Acts as made to damn men*, p. 75. undertakes to *convince the Parliament*, p. 19. And all of them ſtrive to perſuade them that *their way will never doe*, with ſuch like Rhetorick, of which theſe Books are full.

Now for the Church; beſides their uſual Crackers, they conſtantly brand them with *a formal ſpirit*, as may be ſeen in D. P. p. 16, 73, 106. not conſidering Saint *Paul*'s deſcription of formal men, to be ſuch as are *traitorous*, *heady*, *high-minded*, *creeping into widows houſes*, and conventicling there: of which (I ſuppoſe) none have confidence enough to charge the Epiſcopal Divines, but theſe tender Conſciences. 'Twas thoſe he ſays 2 *Tim.* 3. 5. *had a form of Godlineſs*, *without the power*. But one of them runs a ſtranger Riſque, and accuſes the great States-men, or his Majeſtie's Privy Council, *for not wiſe in ſeveral particulars*. 1. For not committing Sacrilege, P. p. 48. That is, *for not taking Church-Revennes from Church-men*. 2. For not *burying the Covenant* (fetched out of the Paw of the Northern Bear, who firſt whelped it) *as honourably as the Jewiſh Worſhip*, that came from God, P. p. 51. Thus is the Northern Thiſtle mated with the Olive of God's Temple. 3. For *not compounding for Epiſcopacy*: as if they had retrived the Committee for Sequeſtrations at *Haberdaſhers-Hall*. And for the Biſhops, their ſentence of Extirpation is paſt by him, P. p. 51. who are farther threatned by them

all,

all, but eſpecially the Prop. p. 86. 'Tis matter of ſorrow to me, that ſo ſober a man as that Authour is ſhould run out into ſuch intemperate expreſſions againſt Authority; eſpecially, the Presbyterians having declared, in their Addreſs to the King, *that every good man (in things he conceives to be ſins) will be very tender of the honour of Superiours.* In a word, all that adviſe the King, compared to them, are judged *perſons of mean counſell*, as the Prop. phraſes it, p. 46. You ſee theſe *Icarus's* upon the wing; they hope to kiſs the Sun, if their wings be but faſtned by an Act of Parliament.

Nor is their kindneſs to all theſe great Intereſts together much larger then to them diſtinct. For they moſt ſcandalouſly reckon Church and State, King, Lords and Commons, (the true Repreſentative of every individual perſon in *England*) to be *but a Party*, and match them with Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, or what other Party will pretend to Conſcience. Nay, D. P. p. 57. affirms *the Non-conformers to out-balance* (that is his word) *the Conformers*: ſo trifling a thing to them is a King in Parliament. And farther, D. R. p. 5. calls it *an unhappy Errour, when Parties* (ſpeaking of the Epiſcopal) *take themſelves to be the whole, or equivalent, and act accordingly.* Such ill Logick theſe men conceive it, that the Legiſlative power of a Nation ſhould ſwell into a conceit of being equivalent to ſome muſhrome Sect. Surely thus to libell Governors is not the way to convert them to our humour; unleſs we conceive them to be Spaniels, made pliable by Abuſes.

Can we gueſs theſe Writers of the *Scottiſh* Foot-

mark,

mark, that plead ſo hard for Syncretiſm, a thing ſo hatefull to that Party, that *Love* at *Uxbridge*-Treaty would have no Peace, for fear leſt they ſhould mix Light and Darkneſs, *Chriſt* and *Belial*, together; that is, King and Parliament? And the ſagacious Sectaries generally conclude them to be of an *Impoſing ſpirit*; in regard Father *Beza*, in his *Hæreticis morte mulctandis*, hath ſentenced Hereticks to death; and that *Calvin* took care to ſee *Servetus* ſafe into another world, at *Geneva*, by the light of his funerall Fire and Faggot: which made poor *Bellius*, *Eleutherius*, and their fellows, to ſtyle him *virum ſanguinarium*, a bloudy *Edomite*; and *Eraſtus* to contrive another way for a *Prynian* Government. Marqueſs *Huntley*, *Angus* and *Atholl*, will be *Scottiſh* evidence of their enmity to Toleration: and no leſs ſpeaks their glorious attempt for outing Biſhops, Root and Branch, out of this Kingdom. Beſides, *they Covenant to bring the Churches of the three Kingdoms to the higheſt Uniformity they can.* And in 1645. their Aſſembly gave the Parliament their Teſtimony againſt Toleration. Not to omit, that *Rigid* and *Presbyterian* are almoſt convertible terms in the vulgar Dictionary. Nor indeed do ſome of them ſpeak clear for a full Toleration: for D. P. tells us, p. 58. *A Toleration not ſtated will break us more to pieces, and doe nothing elſe:* and D. R. p. 87. pleads onely for *a well-managed and limited Toleration:* yea he tells you, p. 43. that *the Non-conformers will never endure a Toleration that brings in Popery*; and M. I. p. 14. utterly *excludes Papiſts* from this fair Haven, to ſink in the Seas of Oppreſſion. Onely L. C. A. deals ingenuouſly, and ſpeaks out for all, upbraiding the

reſt, *for conſulting private Intereſt.*

'Tis farther obſerved by many learned men, That the *Calviniſticall* Party have ever ſtrongly affected a Papal Dominion over mens Lives and Conſciences. And the Remonſtrants obſerve, in their Preface *ad Antidotum*, That no man ever oppoſed that Party *impunè, niſi cùm ei poteſtas opprimendi defuit*; like a Lion, never guiltleſs but when his Nails are pared. Which note haply cauſed Dr. *Prideaux*, in his *Faſciculus Controverſiarum*, to propoſe that weighty Queſtion, *An Suprematus Papalis vel Presbyterialis ſit tolerabilior.* Which one of theſe Proctors for Liberty of Conſcience juſtifies in *Engliſh* thus, P. p. 63. *I know no more danger in prevailing Popery, then prevailing Presbyterianiſm, as to mens Lives and Souls.* It ſeems, he fanſies both to be but *Sampſon*'s Foxes tied by the tails with Fire-brands, to burn down the Harveſt of *Chriſt.* And ſurely, while they cry out againſt *Prelaticall Oppreſſion*, the Lordly Biſhops onely convicted and confuted *Servetus* the *Spaniard* in S. *Paul*'s Church, and ſo diſmiſſed him to Divine Juſtice; but the *Geneva* Diſcipline found Fire and faggot for him aſſoon as he came thither. Which made *Montfort* draw *Calvin*'s Picture, not in a Gown and Caſſock, (robes of Peace,) but in a Helmet, Back and Breaſt, belted and armed like a man of War. So little doth Patience rule thoſe ſacred breaſts, when they have the Over-rule. Which farther ſhews theſe zealous obſervers of Truth are but Time-ſervers, while their Principles warp with their Condition.

But, alas! the Devil would turn Monk when he was ſick and low. A *Scottiſh* ſtomack is not ſo great, that it

it ſcorns to ask for mercy. Mr. *Love*'s Submiſſion and Mr. *Jenkins*'s Petition both ſhew, the *Elephantiaſis* (like the Gout) never troubles them but when they are rich and great. The Rump-Act of *Aug.* 1650. for Liberty of tender Conſciences was againſt the Presbyterians Conſcience and Preaching too, and pronounced a great Sin in thoſe daies: yet now theſe Conſciences can tack about, and plead for that they once condemned: why may they not tack a little farther, to a compliance with the Laws under which they live? If their Bread be wholeſome, being mixed in the Epiſcopal Batch, why may they not (without danger of poiſoning) eat all of the ancient and national Baking? unleſs they will have ſomething granted, to make the world believe there was ſome colour for the late Rebellion; which yet one of them confeſſes *to be nothing*, and that *Cauſe ſtark naught*, Prop. p. 45. though ſoon after, to wit p. 65. (as if he had offended his weak brethren) he licks that Confeſſion up again with a flat Contradiction, averring the great Cauſes of it.

But to return: what would theſe men have? Firſt, and in general, *the eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Religion in its full latitude*, as D. R. p. 3, &c. onely L. C. A. ſeems to be more equal to all Religions, and thinks p. 52. *a limited Toleration pleaded for, infers no more then that none are to be indulged but ſuch as are punctually of their own belief and perſuaſion.* Yea ſo general is M. I. p. 10. that he would have *no diſtinction uſed, but that of Proteſtant and Papiſt, in this Kingdom.* But what need this trouble? 1. Is any other Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, then Reformed Chriſtianity in D. R. p. 3. his ſenſe? or any thing ſettled beſide the Proteſtant

Religion? True it is, Accommodation or Toleration may ſettle ſomething elſe, but the preſent Eſtabliſhment doth not. For the ſettled Doctrine (I think) none will queſtion it: and for the Rites and Ceremonies; none other are required but ſuch as were ſettled by Law in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth, as is poſitively expreſſed in the Rubrick before the Common Prayer: and we think 'twas not Popery he ſettled. Indeed 'tis true, *Impoſition* it ſelf is look'd upon, by ſome of theſe Pleaders for Liberty, as Popiſh: for M. I. tells us, p. 12. *That he that is for Impoſition is a Proteſtant by miſtake, and will find himſelf at home in his Principles no-where but at Rome.* Now if this be juſtified, then was *Calvin* a Papiſt, who in his known Epiſtle to the Protector of *England* adviſes, for the confining of deſultory wits and brain-ſick people in this Kingdom, that one Form of Doctrine and Order ſhould be drawn up, to which every Pariſh-Prieſt ſhould declare his full conſent, yea be bound by an Oath to follow inviolably. Then was *Luther* a Papiſt, who every-where pleads for a Form of Doctrine and Diſcipline to be eſtabliſhed and impoſed againſt the wild Sectaries of that Age. *Melanchthon*, in his Church-Policy, is ſo earneſt for theſe Impoſitions, that he thinks, if theſe Church-Ordinances be taken away, the Church it ſelf is in danger. And little leſs is confeſſed by D. R. p. 23. *A Settlement muſt have all things needfull to Faith, a good Life, and godly Order*; who therefore pleads for *a limited Toleration*, p. 8. Yet he would not take it well, if you ſay he is at home onely at *Rome*. And D. P. p. 16. grants the Church *power to impoſe Ceremonies*, and thinks himſelf *bound to ſubmit to the Churche's judgement what Ceremonies are moſt conve-*

convenient, p. 17. yet eſteems himſelf a Proteſtant. 'Tis well if that Synod *Act.* 15. can clear themſelves from this Gentleman's imputation of Popery, for offering to impoſe burthens upon the Church of *Antioch* in things indifferent, verſe the 28. A Principle equally imbraced by Proteſtants and Papiſts is very unreaſonably called *a Popiſh Principle*. But this is the old trick of the Puritan, and too ſucceſsfull, (as the late King and Church moſt ſadly experimented) to brand with the mark of Popery what-ever they had a mind to render odious to the People. 2. Are they ſo kind to the Proteſtant Intereſt as they pretend to be? See what a wipe another of them hath given it, D. P. p. 109. affirming *that the Proteſtant Principles lead directly to Separation:* a blacker ſtroak then which was never given it by the Pen of the moſt rancorous Papiſt. Yet let him be pardoned for it, ſince he doth but *ſervire theſi:* For how can a Separatiſt prove himſelf a Proteſtant, unleſs Proteſtantiſm lead to Separation? Thus the *Æthiopians* paint the Apoſtles black, that they may not ſeem unlike the Saints. 3. What Settlement is that to Proteſtantiſm, when Toleration ſhall muſter up all its Sects to beard it in every Pariſh? As well might *Job*'s eldeſt Son's Houſe ſtand ſteddy, when the violent Guſts wreak'd their ſpleen upon the four corners of it; or the Ship be ſafe, when winds and waves are permitted to toſs her at their pleaſure. 4. 'Tis ſtrange Preſumption, and favours of but too large a ſtock of ſpiritual Pride, to think they can ſettle Proteſtancy better then the moſt accurate Diligence of the great Council of this Land. 5. Whom will they comprehend under the name of Proteſtants? If all that proteſt againſt the Errours of

the Church of *Rome*; ſuch are the *Greek* Churches, ſuch are the *Muſcovites*, yea ſuch is the *Turk* himſelf. If our Sects onely; let them know that the moſt ſober Proteſtants have eſteemed them but as the *Aſcarides* bred out of our Bodies, but as Vermine on the Body Eccleſiaſtick: they are reckoned amongſt the ill humours with which our crazy Body is diſtempered. Nor is it ſo heavily to be charged upon our Conſtitution, ſince the pureſt bodies are not ſecured from the like Corruption. The very Angelical State produced the blackeſt Devils. If they mean the bulk of Proteſtants, they are comprehended already. If all this pother is made for a few *ſilenced Miniſters*, do they think the Proteſtant Religion lies choak'd while they are ſilenced? is it ſo interwoven with their well-being, that it cannot ſurvive them? Or are they ſuch ill Sons, that they will never let their Mother ſleep, till ſhe hugs them in her arms? Muſt not the Father of their Countrey reſt, till he hath given them ſatisfaction? Muſt Parliaments withdraw their Acts, to give theſe men their wills?

For, as for the deluded People that follow them, what can they ſcruple at? Are they obliged to Oaths or Subſcriptions? are they tied to uſe any other Ceremony then what theſe Miniſters acknowledge they may lawfully uſe? and do they not many of them allow the impoſition of thoſe things that are for Decency and Order under Penalties, ſo they be but ſmall? Hear D. R. p. 27. granting *Governours authority to uſe humane Prudence, the light of Nature and general rules of Scripture, in ordering of their Church*; not requiring expreſs Scripture for every Poſture about Religious Worſhip. And D. P. p. 85. acknowledges the *Magiſtrate may be bold in*

in exacting Conformity by lighter puniſhments, which may ſerve to deterre the Factious, and are not like to tempt a man truly conſciencious to act againſt his Conſcience, if it boggle at all. So that the Prop. did well obſerve, *the people's heads were onely filled with empty fears, with Panick ſurprizes, and childiſh frights.*

It remains therefore that theſe Ejected Miniſters are in a great meaſure the Troublers of our *Iſrael*, as was their Father's houſe ever ſince the Reformation. God grant them a timely ſight of it, and true Repentance for it. But, alas! how can that be, while they hug themſelves in the arms of their own Praiſes? See how affectionately they commend each other for godly, Prop. p. 79, 80. and declare themſelves *the ſlain Witneſſes*, and affirm themſelves *the moſt ſerious and painfull men of the Nation*, D. P. p. 87. and beſtow their richeſt Garlands of Rhetorick upon each other, *ubi cauſa eſt, ubi cauſa non eſt*, as *Blondel* ſays *Ignatius* pleads for Biſhops.

Surely, 'tis not without contrivance, that theſe men now fill the Preſs with their Pleas. They well know how ridiculous it would render the Parliament, (yea and Government it ſelf,) to withdraw an Act ſettled with ſo much care and conſultation, back'd with printed Reaſons, and deep Reſolutions to ſtand by it; and therefore can have but little hope to obtain its Repeal, without which notwithſtanding D. P. declares *all Reconciliation impoſſible*. If I may therefore have leave to gueſſe the cauſe, it is to chear up the ſpirits of gaſping Factions with vain hopes of what the ſubtil conclude to be hopeleſs. Much artifice hath been uſed already to this purpoſe. At firſt, if great numbers would

leave

leave their places, they promiſed that the Powers would ſoon reſtore them. Then being willing to uphold their Party, (for want of better things) they catch at the Ruſh of a fond Prophecy,

MDLLLVVII 1662. *BarthoLoMæVs fLet qIa DesIt Presbyter AngLVs.*

MDLCVVVI 1666. *ADVentV Læta eſt ſanCta MarIa tVo.*

During the operation of this Prophecy they remained pretty ſilent; till the time elapſed, and nothing effected, they ſaw it neceſſary to ſpread a falſe report all the Country over, of a *Toleration* prepared for them. But words ſoon vaniſhing, they turn to Printing, to uphold languiſhing expectation. So that they hold each other from Conformity by theſe Stratagems, and call them Conſcience: but if the Parliament crouch not to them, they muſt conſult the Brazen head again, what to ſay next.

I conceive not all theſe Advocates for Liberty of Conſcience *Presbyterians*, but ſome act under a vizard, perſuading themſelves, that if they can get in the Presbyterian Needle, the long thred of Sectaries muſt neceſſarily follow after. However they know, that if pretence of Conſcience can foil one Law, it will at length foil every one it pleaſes to decry: and that if a man can't ſave his Arm from cutting off, nor can he ſave his Head. When the Out-works are taken, the reſt can't long hold out. If the royal Globe in the hand of Majeſty be once ſtruck out, it will tumble to the bottome of the Throne.

And indeed they give occaſion to ſuſpect no leſs, ſome of them pleading for the *free admiſſion of all perſons to Govern-*

Government. M. I. p. 17. deſires *that no man's opinion may advance him, nor no man's opinion may prejudice him.* Another pleads for *the reſtauration as well of Civil Miniſters as Eccleſiaſtical*, P. p. 89. And whether he means the *Rump-Parliament*, or the proſcribed or pardoned *Swordmen*, or fanaticall and diſaffected *Aldermen*, is a Queſtion: for you will find him to juſtifie that Cauſe, p. 65. and highly to commend *Cromwell, as a Mortal eternallized*, p. 45. he eſteems *the Covenant, as the* Jewiſh *Worſhip, from God*, p. 49. and judges *the Rumpers more publick-ſpirited men then this preſent Parliament.* And D. R. p. 47. deſires *a new Act for Sequeſtring ſcandalous, ignorant and inſufficient Miniſters.* So that at leaſt they are *Latitudinarians*, ſome of them, that is, of *Henry Marten, Henry Nevile, Thomas Challoner*, or *Aug. Garland's* Foot-mark, with the reſt of that ſort of *Rumpers*, whoſe Atheiſm, joyned with Religious Canting, made them look like Ghoſts with bright Tapers in their hands; true Non-conformiſts to all that ever did believe a Deity.

2. But now, for the Settlement of Proteſtantiſm, they conceive it neceſſary that the Act for *Uniformity* be withdrawn, and ſome larger way propoſed. This D. P. calls *an Accommodation*, D. R. *an eſtabliſhed Order*, L. C. A. *Comprehenſion.* Whether the Act for Uniformity may be prudently withdrawn, ſhall be ſpoken to anon: for the preſent we may obſerve, Firſt, That theſe Pleaders are divided in their deſires ſo far, that to pleaſe one would neceſſarily diſpleaſe the other. D. P. and D. R. both think *the Settlement muſt be by turning the King's Declaration into an Act.* But L. C. A. p. 52. would not *have the Civil Sanction at all; becauſe ſuch things are onely cogniſable in aliena Republica*; and that Civil

Powers have onely right to judge of things *concerning the natural good of mankind*, not the ſpiritual good of Chriſtians, p. 49. that they muſt not uſe the Civil Sword about ought but the *light of Nature*, (*ferè per totum.*) Thus are the Powers accuſed by him for acting *out of their Sphere*, and meddling with things they have nothing to doe withall. Beſides, he will acknowledge nothing to be *the Rule of Chriſtian Communion* (as far as I can judge) but *the Creed*: which I gather from thoſe words L. C. A. p. 51. *How unmercifull a thing is it, and how unlike the Primitive Chriſtians, to make ſuch Ceremonies a Rule of the Churche's Communion, which uſed to be nothing but the Creed*! I ſhall not digreſs ſo far as to examine the truth of this ſaying, though I know the Authour hath more Learning then to believe it. But ſecondly, why is ſo great a Noiſe made about theſe Non-conformers? Can they force the Government? I may ſay as *Cicero* of *Antony*, he could never obtain that Power but by evil Arts: ſo that 'tis their ſhame, not their glory, to be popular. And leſt they ſhould ſwell in conceit, S. *Hierom* to *Nepotian* tells you, *Admirationem ſui facere celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus, indoctorum hominum eſt*; and adds, (to confute mens bold ignorance) *attrita frons interpretatur ſæpe quod neſcit*: yea, to ſhew the levity of winning the Vulgar, he adds, *Nihil tam facile quàm vilem plebeculam & indoctam Concionem linguæ volubilitate decipere, quæ quicquid non intelligit plùs miratur.* He could not more exactly have deſcribed theſe Rabbies, had he lived to have ſeen them on the Stage in Querpo. Yet will you hear them bear record of themſelves? One *R. A.* in his Χειροτονία p. 55. tells you, *Invenimus Eccleſiam* Chriſti *lateritiam, reliquimus marmo-*

marmoream. You hear him bellow like a Bull, 'tis pity he ſhould prove weaker then a Bulruſh. Surely theſe *Megabyzi ſermones* will prove but *ſwelling words of vanity.* I appeal to the ſober of this Land, what is the *Converſion* there talked of, which theſe ſo much glory in, but a turning men from the *King* to that which was then nick-named the *Parliament*? I have heard two or three of that Party ſay, (whoſe names I ſuppreſs in charity) that they underſtood no *Converſion* for the firſt ſeven years, but turning men from King to Parliament. That they ſhould boaſt of this ſucceſs of their Miniſtry, is as much Impudence as Imprudence. 'Tis *Perverſion* rather then *Converſion*, to turn men from *Religion* to *Rebellion*, or from *Debauchery* to *Diſloyalty*. Such Proſelytes are more the Children of darkneſs then before. Nor was God long in Retaliating: for they ſoon found, to their ſorrow, *Converſion* ſignified turning men from *Presbyterian* to *Independent*, from thence to *Anabaptiſt*, and ſo on from one corrupted Opinion to another. And the Apoſtates thus gloried in the name of *Converts* and *Inlightned*, even when changed to the groſſeſt Errours. What *Thraſo* would thus glory in his ſhame? *Faction* hath well thriven under them, but ſo hath not *Faith*; *Rebellion* proſpered, but not *Religion*. Let the world judge, whether Honeſty and Devotion have been more practiſed ſince the Wars then before.

And ſince theſe men thus trouble their Countrey with the loud noiſe of their Merits; let them anſwer that ſad, but ſerious, Charge laid on them by the Authour of the Modern Policy in the Pref. "That our "flouds of Miſeries were ſwelled by Clergy holy-water; "That their Torches of ſaving Light were turned to

"destroying Fire-brands; —Their Trumpets should "have sounded Retreats, but they sounded Alarms to "fury. I am persuaded, would these Ministers lay their hands upon their hearts, and impartially consider the effects of their former Preaching, their just indignation at their own sins would justifie any Act for their future Silence, unless in a Recantation. The Consciences of all grave and moderate men are ready to charge them with preaching Unity out of the Church, Peace out of the State, Obedience to Superiours out of mens Consciences, themselves out of countenance with all lawfull, and out of maintenance with all usurped Powers. What remains farther to compleat the measure of evils, may be left to *Cromwell*, *Phocas*, or *Pontius Pilate*: for *Judas* the Disciple of *Christ* hath done his part already. Whoever will reade their Volumes of Fast-Sermons, preached before the Long Parliament, shall find Pope *Hildebrand* outshot in his own Bow by *Englisb Presbyterians*. Nor needs there any other Picture then what they have there drawn of themselves, to shew these *men of God* are in truth but *men of War*.

Should these men be again admitted, what security will they give (that scruple at Obligations) that they will not fall to their old work again of converting Subjects from their Allegiance, and filling their hearts with variety of Scruples? especially since 'tis doubted they are not purged clean from that bitter Opinion, That Subjects, seeing their Sovereign to erre, (of which themselves will be judges) may lawfully enter into a *Covenant*, to stand by each other, (as the late Army several times, by their example, did against their Rump) and contend, till they have brought Sovereignty into due Order.

Order. Which is not onely a School-point, but an Article of Faith that makes up a Presbyterian *Creed*, averred by moſt of their learned Writers. For which Opinion *Paræus*'s Book died a Martyr in *Cambridge* by the hand of the common Hangman. Yet ſure,

Mergi, non uri, debuit iſte Liber,

that flamed ſo hot in Fanatick zeal againſt Chriſtian Magiſtrates.

'Twas *Roman* prudence, not to permit any man to preach to the people, *niſi authoritate Magiſtratuum priùs habitâ, Cic.* Ep. l. 4. ad Att. ep. 1, 2. where alſo *poteſtas Ciceroni & Clodio conceſſa eſt* to have a publick Sermon before the Vulgar. I know not whether our Governours ſee cauſe for ſo ſtrict a courſe or no: but ſome Demagogues make an ill uſe of their Liberty, praying for Authority in ſuch ſcandalous language as they would be loath to be prayed for themſelves; poiſoning Auditors hearts with holy Bread, and their Prince's Reputation with religious Tears. They pray God to bring their Prince to a right mind, that they may religiouſly from the Pulpit proclaim him perverſe; and onely ask forgiveneſs of his ſins, that the Vulgar may take notice how ſinfull he is. It would behove Princes to command ſuch Libellers to leave them out of thoſe Devotions, whoſe flames burn rather then warm.

Thirdly, What do theſe men preſume they are, that the *Engliſh* Nation muſt come to *Accommodation* with them? Are they grown *Hoghen Moghens*, that ſtrive to make Acts of Parliament to ſtrike ſail to their Toleration? Shall the unparallel'd Confidence of 300 men rule the Laws, rather then the Laws them? *Satis pro imperio:* God bleſs their Majeſties. How ſtrangely (think they)

are Parliaments cow'd, that fear the *Black* coat as well as the *Red*? But why ſo? Are they *Chriſtians?* then there is no fear of them. *Nunquam Chriſtiani inventi ſunt Caſſiani:* There is no danger in a Sheep of *Chriſt:* Chriſtians may be Martyrs, but can't be Murtherers. Are they *Antichriſtians? Pereat proles Babylonica.* Who will make much of nought? who would yoak his Teem to fetch a Wren home from the Woods?

3. To make way for this Accommodation ſeveral things are declaimed againſt. As 1. the Act of Uniformity. Thus D. P. p. 14. *No Reconciliation can be, till the Act of Uniformity be down.* But of this more anon. 2. *The requiring more as the Conditions of exerciſing the Miniſtry, then things neceſſary to Salvation, after Examination and Approbation.* D. P. p. 95. P. p. 82. *'Tis unmercifull,* ſays L. C. A. p. 51. *to make Ceremonies the Rule of the Churche's Communion:* yea he decries all Impoſitions but in moral things. So that the things decried by ſome of them (for they moſt irreconcilably differ amongſt themſelves about this part) are 1. *the impoſition of Oaths and Subſcriptions.* P. p. 18. declares *Oaths uſeleſs and provoking men to fall foul on the Impoſers,* p. 22. *when their Conſcience ſmites them for them:* and D. P. p. 27. makes a loud outcry againſt the Oath in the Act of Uniformity, as it was modelled at *Oxford*, and contrived on purpoſe to comply with theſe mens Weakneſs or Peeviſhneſs. The *Covenant* is not ſo much as named in it, that the Covenanters might find nothing to boggle at; yet are their Complaints as great as before: which may well diſcourage Authority from ſtriving to gratifie them for the future. How diligent that Authour hath been in picking holes in the Oath, may appear to

to any that will reade the place cited. Yet we are told by the Non-conformers, in their account to his Majeſty concerning the Review of the Liturgie, That *they are miſrepreſented, if they are repreſented cauſeleſly or pragmatically inquiſitive into the Reaſons of Superiours Commands.* That he is cauſeleſly and pragmatically ſcrupulous, appears by this, (D. P. p. 25.) that notwithſtanding the many faults he charges upon the Oath, to affrighten others, *he is ready to write a Book for taking this very Oath.*

But will you hear his Exceptions? 1. *'Tis againſt the freedom of the Subject, to be tied from endeavouring Alteration,* D. P. p. 27. His Reaſon is, becauſe *Subjects have power to chuſe Parliament-men, who are to conſult about Grievances,* &c. For anſwer, Firſt, It ſeems by this Plea, that the Government is a Grievance, elſe the Argument concludes nothing. Secondly, Their Writs will tell you they are called to conſult *de arduis Regni,* not to alter the Government. And thirdly, Mr. *Pryn* thinks, to conſult is but to adviſe as Counſellors, not to enact as Legiſlators diſtinctly. And fourthly, The man brings a ſword with him to ſtab this exception in p. 44. where he asks, *What have men in a private capacity to doe with Government?* Either the Electors are private, and then what have they to doe with Government? or publick, and then who are the private Subjects? Fifthly, The Government is recogniſed, as a previous qualification to all the People's Repreſentatives; and what Alteration can they then make in it without Perjury?

2. His ſecond Exception is againſt that Clauſe, that declares it *traitorous to hold we may take up Arms by the King's Authority againſt his Perſon, or any commiſſionated by*

by him; putting the Case of a Sheriff's using the *Posse Comitatûs* by Writ against any commissionated by the King to the contrary. For answer, First, He confesses that *he believes the Parliament never intended by this Clause to advance the personal will of the King above the Law*, D. P. p. 28. nor do the words enforce any such sense: therefore (it seems) he never intended by the Exception to prove the Oath unlawfull; but the Parliament weak, that could not see the Objection, or not so word the Oath as to exclude that one Case. Secondly, The Sheriff is made by Commission from the King; therefore to take Arms against him is to take Arms against one commissionated by the King. The Law requires a Sheriff, but 'tis the King's personal will that declares and individuates the Sheriff. So that the whole Exception is groundless. Thirdly, It bespeaks great suspicion of, and little charity to, Superiours, to imagine they will issue forth two directly-contrary Commissions, and suffer both to be prosecuted to bloud. But it well accords with these mens former carriage to Authority. But fourthly, Let Authority look to it, they are fairly warned: they may see the Roots of the hemlock are still in the ground, and who knows how soon they will bud forth? The King's Personal is still distinguished from his Legal or Regal will: And Armies may be raised against the King's Commissioners, though not against the King. Which were the genuine Principles of the late *Rebellion*.

3. Now for his Exception against the word [*I abhorre*,] which he calls *Mr. Calamie's Scruple*, D. P. p. 28. First, He confesses *he may say 'tis unlawfull, when he cannot say he abhorrs a thing*. But, sure, every honest man

abhorrs

abhorrs all unlawfull things. 'Tis true, there is in every Chriſtian a regenerate and unregenerate part, an outward and an inward man, fleſh and ſpirit, the carnal mind and the ſpiritual part: Now the fleſh lingers after what the ſpirit abhorrs; and this comes up full to his inſtance, (that a man may ſay 'tis *unlawfull to accompany another woman as his Wife, when he can't ſay he abhorrs it.*) 'Tis true, the carnal minde, judging it unlawfull, may yet hanker after her: but the mind as far as 'tis ſpiritual utterly deteſts the ſin. If this were Mr. *Calamy*'s Scruple, the judicious will be tempted by it, to think him more verſed in the Scruple-houſe then the Univerſity. Secondly, His inſtance perſuades me, that, as the carnal mind hath ſome inclinations to his neighbour's Wife, ſo have they to a freſh Rebellion.

4. His next Exception againſt the Oath is, That it affirms it *unlawfull upon any pretence whatſoever to take up Arms againſt the King*; alledging ſeveral Authours to determine it *lawfull, in ſome caſes, to take up Arms againſt their King.* D. P. p. 30. Firſt, The Authour acknowledges he *is not like to ſay any thing againſt the ſenſe and meaning of the Oath*, id. p. 31. So that his quarrell is againſt the Compoſers, (viz. the Parliament) for their weakneſs in expreſſing their ſenſe. Secondly, The Authours cited ſpeak with reſpect to the Laws under which they live: but ſufficient Authority hath declared it unlawfull in this Land, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the Sovereign, and accordingly hath impoſed this Oath. Thirdly, Holy Scriptures, that ſuperſede all humane Laws, allow no Oppoſition upon any pretence whatſoever: if they do, the Authour may take his own time to ſhew where,

that we may ſee God's Anointed murthered by God's command, and our holy Religion to countenance a holy Rebellion. Fourthly, Admit it lawfull to rebell on any pretence, and Traitors will not want a pretence for any Rebellion. No Treaſon ſhall be unreaſonable, becauſe ſome Reaſon may be given for Treaſon. This Truth hath been moſt lamentably experimented in our paſt Commotions, where the ſame reaſons were given for outing the Secluded Members that were uſed for rejecting the King, (viz. they were a corrupt Intereſt, that ſtrived to ruine the good People;) and the ſame Sword that cut off the Bulk lopp'd off the Rump of that Parliament. The Army found no Sword like it, to overturn what-ever carried any face of Authority. Being taught by ſuch fatal inſtances, 'tis time to break that Sword that hath been the death of ſo many Powers. Fifthly, To ſuppoſe a Caſe in which Oppoſition may be lawfull; who ſhall be judge of the matter of Fact? nor Governours nor Governed, for both are parties; and *unuſquiſque ſua in lite judex eſt corruptus.* It remains then that the ſenſeleſs Sword muſt be the ſole Arbiter of the Controverſie; and then the Sentence muſt needs be a keen one, let it fall which way it wil. How much better is it for this man to conſent with thoſe Non-conformers in their Addreſs to the King, cited D. R. p. 16. *That the publick judgment, Civil or Eccleſiaſticall, belongs to publick perſons onely, and not to any private man?*

5. His laſt Exception is, *That men are forced to ſwear to a doctrinall Propoſition, which we can't be ſure of, becauſe man is not infallible.* To which we ſay, firſt, Many things are infallibly true, though delivered by a fallible man: as that Twice five is ten; that there is a Deity,

Deity, &c. Secondly, A man may lawfully ſwear what he certainly believes to be true, and this the Authour ſeems to do. Thirdly, His Exception would prevent Oaths in matters of fact as well as doctrinall Concluſions; for his Eyes are no more infallible then his Brains, as a Juggler would ſoon convince him. So that this Oath would never have choak'd him, had *it been ſwallowed without ſo much chewing.*

Having done with the Exceptions of D. P. becauſe the reſt ſeem to oppoſe all Impoſitions of this kind, I ſhall farther ſay, Their Opinion may be that of the Anabaptiſts and Quakers, that there is no *jus jurandi*, no Oaths lawfull: To which I mean not a Plea for Swearing, but onely tell them that God ſwears *by himſelf*, the Angel *by him that lives for ever*, S. *Paul by the rejoycing of Chriſtians*, which is the Goſpel, and moſt School-Divines make Oaths a part of that Honour and Worſhip that is due to God, when upon juſt occaſions and reverently taken. If *Wickliff* and *Hus* were of another opinion, (as the Council of *Conſtance* affirms) yet the evidence of Divine truth hath led the Proteſtants (not to ſay the whole Catholick Church) this way. The Chriſtians were not accuſed by *Saturnius* for refuſing to ſwear at large, but for refuſing to ſwear *per genium Cæſaris*, (as *Tert.* Ap. c. 32. plainly proves.) Yet I would not be thought a Patron to common Swearing, the Gentleman's ſin, who thinks his Coat can't be well emblazoned but by a field of Oaths; as if his Oratory were not pungent untill he ſtabb'd his God; as if 'twere impoſſible for him to be damned, till he had pray'd *God damn me.* I could wiſh that the Groans of Chriſtians might drown the Oaths of theſe Antichriſtians.

But now, allowing Oaths lawfull, what reaſon can theſe men have to rob Authority of this Bond, by which Inferiours are linked to Superiours? They ſay, indeed, they are uſeleſs; but they have the concurrent judgement of all Ages paſt to the contrary, and that too gloſſed with perpetual practice; ſo that anciently *Sacramentum militare* was the form of *liſting* a Souldier. And can they believe all men deceived rather then themſelves? If Oaths be no Tie, why do they refuſe them? if a good Bond, why do they refuſe to give it to their Prince? 'Tis a ſtrange Paradox, That the way to ſettle a Government in peace is to take away all Ties and Obligations of Fidelity to it.

If they mean leſs then they ſay, and ſo confine their thoughts to Oaths and Declarations about Religion onely; I reply, That it would accuſe the Licenſers of horrible negligence, ſhould they admit a man to guide the Flock of God, yet not require him to declare beforehand which way he would lead them. Then may the Fox be ſet to keep the Gooſe, and the Wolf appointed to direct the Lamb. S. *Paul*, *Gal.* 6. 16. would give his bleſſing to none but ſuch as (στοιχήσουσι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ) *would walk by* his *Canons*. Woe be to the Souls of the undiſcerning Vulgar, when men ſhall be bid to ſpeak before we know what they will ſay; when vent ſhall be given to their Commodity, though it be Poiſon. What ſafety is a City in, when any one is permitted to enter the Gates? The beſt Ties fail of holding all from evil; and what will be done where is none at all?

Yet were theſe mens Pleas ever lawfull, 'tis ſo now: for they have learned (like maſterleſs Swine) to run through Quick-ſet-Hedges with Yoaks about their Necks.

Necks. How nimbly did they skip from *Allegiance* and *Proteſtation* to the *Covenant*, from thence to the *Ingagement*, without Scratch or Prick complained of in their Conſciences? As if the Fiſhes in *Chriſt*'s Net were all Eels, you could have no hold of them: As if *Chriſt*'s Freemen could not be bound with Word nor Wax. No doubt they were good *Græcians*, that practiſed ſo much *Græcâ fide*; the Fathers *fideles Infideles*, that had ſo well ſtudied the Art of faſt and looſe; Brothers to *Severus*, of whom *Herod.* l. 2. ſays, μήτε ὄρκια φευδόμενος, εἰ δέοι τότε καταφρονῆται, ψευσάμενος πρὸς τὸ χρειῶδες, rather then fail, he made his Conſcience ſerve under his Projects, the better to effect them. They preſerve Kings by their Oaths as Ladies do Apricocks, plucking them from their tree of life, and boiling them in ſcalding water. They ſwear to advance him to a Throne, and interpret it a Scaffold; βασιλείῳ καὶ ἐμφυλίῳ αἵματι μιαίνοντες τὸν ὅρκον, (as *Pertinax* tells his Souldiers;) they new drew their Covenant in red Letters, dipping their Pens in Royal Bloud. But whiſt! one of them ſilences me with the Act of Oblivion; without which themſelves had ſat very mute.

Now for their Clergie, as Mr. *Calamy*, *Caſe*, &c. yea all Ordained before 1640, they ſwore *Canonical Obedience* to their Biſhop for the time being; and about three years after expounded it by a *Covenant* to root them out. How can we call that a *tender Conſcience* that can digeſt two-edged Oaths, Oaths of an ell long, Oaths that ſpeak Daggers to each other, and that too without the leaſt wince or hæſitation? I think a man may have better hold of them by their Purſe-ſtrings then Conſcience-ties. And therefore I ſhould think Authority far more ſecure againſt that Party by a Bond for their

Good behaviour, then the exacteſt Oath.

As for an Objection brought in againſt taking the Oath by P. *that it binds not to a Duty more then before*, 'tis very pretty: for, Firſt, Oaths are taken for a ſtricter Tie; and how comes that to be an Objection againſt impoſing Oaths, that they do not bind us more then before? Secondly, Is it not a contradiction to ſay, *Oaths bind no more to the thing then we were bound before they are taken*, yet preſently to ſay, *they bind by more degrees*? What is *more*, but *a degree*? Without the Parentheſis there wants truth, and with it 'tis ſcarcely ſenſe.

But 'tis urged, *The Cavaliers formerly complained of the many Oaths impoſed, and eſteemed it a great Oppreſſion.* 'Tis very true, and methinks *Clem. Rom.* ep. ad Cor. 1. p. 72. doth think ſo too, for he puts πολυοργία for *Oppreſſion*, (if I underſtand him.) But then, Firſt, The Cavaliers found them contrary to each other. The Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* bound them to preſerve the King in his Civil and Eccleſiaſticall capacity: the *Covenant* would bind them to preſerve the King, but againſt his Eccleſiaſticall capacity: the *Ingagement* bound them to preſerve the Government without the King. Secondly, They were impoſed as Traps to enſnare them, and put them out of their paternal Inheritance. Thirdly, They were impoſed by inſufficient Authority; which left them that knew it ſo, yet took them, without excuſe. Now neither of theſe is our preſent Caſe.

That this Party hath *holes to creep out of Oaths* is no doubt. M. I. p. 6. acknowledges *the juggling of that Party*, and you may take his word, for he well underſtands them. And indeed without this skill in Picklocks, how got they out of the Oaths of Allegeance and Supremacy,

macy, Proteſtation and Covenant, &c? I am ſure they never had the Golden Key of Authority to unlock the door. They are ſomething like *Philoctetes*, who ſwearing to *Hercules*, that he would never diſcover where his Arrows or Reliques were, nor the place of his Buriall; yet being urged by the *Græcians* to reveal, he thought to ſave his Oath by his Silence, yet pointed out the place with his feet. I will not ſay the Covenanters did ſo; ſeeming to diſlike the King's Death by their Silence, yet made way for it by treading him under their feet: let their Conſciences make application. But having taken the Oaths, let them creep out of what holes they will, it muſt be a hole in their Conſciences, and that will make another in their Reputations, and that again a great hole in all honeſt mens opinions concerning them. But enough of this.

They farther deſire leave to *take the Oath in their own words*, ſome of them, as D. P. p. 45. So may they for me, for being Non-conformers, how could the Parliament hope they would ſwear in a form? And they have too great a conceit of themſelves, to think a Parliament could not find out fitter words then they. In a word, ſuch great Speakers ought not now to be taught to ſpeak.

2. They decry *Rites and Ceremonies, and a Subſcription to them, as tyrannicall*, and would have nothing as *the condition of Communion for Miniſters and people, but what is neceſſary to Salvation*; as is proved before. But, firſt, Why ſhould the Presbyterians plead thus, ſince they judged other things neceſſary to be ſubſcribed, in their attempts for Aſſociation, then merely neceſſaries to Salvation? They then thought it no Oppreſſion, to

urge

urge the Episcopal and Independent Brethren to subscribe their printed Books, the bulk of which did exceed that of the Church-Canons, and contained in them a thousand things not necessary to Salvation. Secondly, S. *Paul* thought it no Oppression, to oblige the Ministers of the Church of *Corinth* to a publick acknowledgment of those Canons he gave them, 1 *Cor.* 14. 37. yet sure they were not necessary to the being of a Christian, but the well-being of a Church. Thirdly, I am of L. C. A's. mind, that *in the Primitive times the Creed might have sufficed*, and now may for the Communion of Churches; but not so for Communion in Churches. Faith is a good foundation of the Catholick Union; but Union of particular Christians must be grounded on an obligation to observe certain Rites and Canons, which ought to be owned and submitted to, yea and subscribed, if the Church shall think fit. How else can men know the time and place and posture, the *Order* and *Decency* of Worship, that is required 1 *Cor.* 14. 40. which *Calvin* confesseth to be required in that place? Fourthly, S. *Paul* praises the Church of *Corinth* for keeping certain Ordinances that he delivered unto them, 1 *Cor.* 11. 2. of which one was, that men should sit *bare-headed* in the Church; concerning which Ceremony he spends no less then the 14 following verses to enforce it. Now all the Arguments almost of the Non-conformers against Ceremonies, do as strongly militate against this Ceremony of S. *Paul's* Institution, as against any now imposed. And 'tis observable, that the last Reply the Apostle thinks good to make against these Non-conformers contentions is this, 1 *Cor.* 11. 16. that the Apostles *used no such customes* (as covering of heads in the Church,)

no

no nor the Church of God. Now let the Authour of L.C.A. conſider, whether the Arguments for Ceremonies can be traced no farther then *Bellarmine* and *Suarez*; and let the Authour of D.P. conſider, whether S. *Paul* be not as much to be blamed for defending this Ceremony, as Bp. *Whitgift* for defending th[illegible] of his time. 'Tis ſurely an eaſie way to conqueſt, to perſuade men not to defend thoſe neceſſary Rites that theſe men pleaſe to aſſault. Fifthly, It ſeems to me that ſome of theſe Pleaders are not ſo heartily ingaged againſt Rites and Ceremonies, how-ever they are pleaſed to affrighten their deluded admirers with the danger of them: for D.R. p. 24. tells us, *Comprehenſion excludes not Decency, but would have in no more Ceremonies then needs muſt.* And pray who ſhall be judge what are needfull? D. P. p. 17. thinks very honeſtly *that the Church muſt judge*: if ſo, they have judged already, and ſo we may end this Diſpute in a friendly agreement.

Having thus diſcharged the General cry of this deep-mouthed Pack, come we to conſider the Particulars. Let them but enumerate what they would have, and be their own Carvers, and 'twill amount to no leſs then the *Good old Cauſe*; or rather more, for they deſire *a Poſitive Law for Toleration*, as P. p. 69, 70. L. C. A. p. 11. D. R. p. 8. &c. while a general Præterition ſerved before. And certainly that great *Roman* Orator was right; *Non enim idem eſt, ferre, ſi quid ferendum eſt, & probare, ſi quid probandum non eſt. Cic.* fam. Ep. l. 9. ep. 6. Nor is this all, but one of them would have *all things taken away for which the people rebelled*, P. p. 65. judging it more reaſonable that the Sovereign ſhould conform to the Subject, then the Subject to the Sovereign. Which

produces that *Libyan* Serpent *Pareas*, *Luc.* Pharſ. 1. 10. that leads with the Tail. That Authour quarrells with the Age, for *ſtriving to root out people's ill Principles, rather then Princes ill practices.* God knows what the people may call ill Practices: but we know a *Roman* ſued at Law, for not taking a Dagger deep enough into his Bowels, with which his adverſary ſtrived to ſtab him. It may in time be laid to the Prince and Parliament's charge, that they buried not the Murther of the late King in honour and ſilence; as well as now 'tis, that the *Covenant* was not ſo buried. I will purſue this no farther, leſt it whet the Sword of juſtice too keen againſt this kind of Pleaders.

Now pray hear them branch their deſires (with ſome confuſion) into theſe enſuing Heads.

1. They would *have Tithes taken away*, or *at leaſt altered.* *Iſrael* was chidden for robbing God of Tithes and Offerings: if theſe be *Iſraelites*, let them apply it to themſelves. 'Tis ſtrange that hypocriticall *Phariſees* ſhould boaſt of paying them, and theſe ſtrive againſt them. Surely theſe mens Conſciences grow in their Purſe or Field, that ſcruple at payments: and ſo the Poet was right,

Χρήματα γὰρ ψυχὴ πίλεται, &c.

How likes *Cornelius Burges* theſe Presbyterians, that ſtrive to baffle his whole Divine right with one Act of Parliament? 'Twas hard for a man to commit Sacrilege before, according to *Burges*'s notion; but (if theſe mens motions take place) it will be impoſſible for the future: ſo wiſe are theſe Pleaders to prevent ſin. *Euſeb.* l. 4. præp. and *Dion. Halic.* l. 1. tell us that the *Pelaſgi*, (the Offſpring of *Phaleg*, as *Bochartus* well proves) being

being under great Judgments, ſent to inquire of the Oracles, whether they would be pacified with the Tenths of Men: The Oracles anſwered, they would. But theſe men think to remove our Judgments by taking away the Tenths of Goods from God. Where the Conſcience ſcruples payments, 'tis a ſign 'tis tender of Profit rather then Piety; and that People aim at ſaving their Purſes rather then their Souls. But this is the old complaint: and Tithes are like the *Chaldæans* in *Rome*, alwaies proſcribed, yet alwaies there. Thus Dogs of *Scyrum* alwaies bark againſt the Moon, yet it ſtill abides. Tithes, like the Church they ſuſtain, *ſemper concuſſæ, nunquam excuſſæ*. Yet let it be confeſſed, that Tithes and Landlords Rents are the two great Grievances of this Nation.

2. To proſecute the *Good old Cauſe*, in Rank with Tithes are *ſervile Tenures, called Copy-holds*. O rare *Saturnalia*! Lords muſt ceaſe to be Lords, that Tenants may be Free-holders. Their ancient Rights muſt be parted withall, not for Coyn, but Clamour. In other caſes Cauſes make Complaints, but here Complaints make Cauſes. They hope to get Free-holds as Children do Rattles, by crying for them. Unjuſt men like not to continue their Lands on the Conditions they came by them. Time (that makes all things worſe) muſt make their Tenures better. I may ſay of this Cauſe as *Cicero* did of *Cæſar*'s, 'tis *cauſa ſine cauſa*. The buſineſs is, *Jack* will be a Gentleman: as if a man could make a ſilk Purſe of a Sow's ear. 'Tis pity theſe Saints throw not up their Eſtates, as their Miniſters their Livings, becauſe being *Chriſt*'s free-men, 'tis againſt their Conſcience to hold their Lands on humane Conſtitutions, and ſervile Conditions.

3. The third branch of the *Good old Cauſe* that the Propoſition requires is, *the Regiſter of Eſtates*. A thing often attempted, but never effected: the onely ſingle thing that looks like juſt, of all they plead for: in which I wiſh them ſucceſs. Yet wants it not its Inconveniences, that may make it unpaſſable. *Tacitus* prefaces his Annals with a Story, that the world was firſt oppreſſed with Tyrants, at length with Laws. A Court of Record in every County newly erected would increaſe Lawyers and Fees good ſtore: but whether Honeſty would be increaſed, time muſt ſhew. This way leaves little room for Charity, and cuts the ſinews of Commerce; which is Credit. In a word, humane Affairs are the Game; Dealers are Gameſters; and the deſign of Regiſtring is to let the adverſary over-ſee one's hand, which ſpoils the Play. I look on the deſign as hopeleſs, becauſe four hundred men will ſcarcely ever be found ſo intire, but ſome will halt on that ſore, and can no more conſent, then proclaim themſelves bankrupt.

4. The fourth thing pleaded for by them is, the *damning all Pluralities*, that is, ſilencing thoſe Laws that ſtint Chaplains to Kings, Dukes, Earls, Biſhops, &c. *in ſhovelling up* (as they phraſe it) *Church-Livings*. I confeſs, I believe the Clergie get more envy then profit by it; beſides that it doth much narrow their Intereſt. Yet let it be conſidered, that theſe Laws muſt be ſilenced, to make a Non-conformiſt ſpeak, P. p. 54. Laws are ſuch trifling things with them, that they are as eaſie repealed as ſcribbled againſt. Theſe men think it no oppreſſion to out men of a legal poſſeſſion, without their perſonal conſent. But why do theſe things now trouble? Can't they remember their own practice but a while

while ſince? Were not all the taking Preachers about *London* Pluraliſts, that could procure entertainment? Did not Mr. *Vines* ſpread his branches from *Laurence Jury* to *Watton* in *Hertfordſhire*, till he went off on a golden Bridge? How much was Mr. *Caſe* noted for heaping Church-Livings together? Mr. *R. V.* held ſeldome fewer then *S. Olave's Southwark* and *S. Edmond's Lombardſtreet*. Mr. *Jenkins*, *Black-Friers* and *Chriſt-church*. Mr. *Mayhew*, *Kingſton* upon *Thames* and *White-Chappel*. Mr. *Griffith*, a modeſt man, held the *Charter-houſe* and *S. Bartholomew's* behind the *old Exchange*. But ſee the ſubtilty of theſe men; to avoid the imputation of *Pluraliſts*, they called themſelves *Lecturers*: as if that employment were neither a Cure of Souls, nor a catering for the Purſe. 'Tis well their Conſcience and Credit both can be ſalved with a new word. But

Turpe eſt Doctori cùm culpa, &c.

The *Engliſh* Church brought not in Pluralities: for before the Reformation no Pluralities were admitted *niſi diſpenſatione Apoſtolicâ*, v. *Lyndwood*; and ſince, none were induced but by Act of Parliament.

And what forbids the Legiſlative Power (to wit, King, Lords and Commons) to allow the King, Dukes, Earls Chaplains, &c. more then one Living, for the better managing that part they are to act about their Maſter's affairs, and for the ſtate of the Kingdome; eſpecially where the Lay-Gentry are ſo plentifully inſtated in Church-Livings, for the upholding their Greatneſs? Is a man onely therefore uncapable of more Church-Preferments, becauſe a Clergy-man? But elſe the Nonconformers cannot find Livings. Are they ſure, the preſent Occupiers being diſſeiſed, that the Patrons will

pin them on their backs? Are not the Universities full of deserving men? and must they be put by till God knows when? or must they turn Non-conformers to get a Living? 'Tis pity such vast numbers of Expectants (who may doe well) should be slighted for those that have done ill.

5. The fifth thing desired is, *that all may be allowed to preach and officiate that are in any Orders.* Here is a door opened to the Enthusiast, whom the Spirit orders; to the Quaker, whom *George Fox* orders; to the Independent, whom the people order *durante placito*; to the Presbyterian, whom *Aerius* orders, &c. Here *Nadir* and *Zenith* are made to shake hands: the two terms of Contradiction are here reconciled, to wit, *potestas à Christo descendendo*, and *à plebe ascendendo. England* must have a publick Ministry with private Orders, or onely fansied ones. Then must the Church prove a Poly-cephalist, more dreadfull then the *Stygian Cerberus.* 'Twas judged malice in *Sergius* the third, to re-ordain those that *Formosus* had advanced to holy Orders; because he was *Episcopus Portuensis*, and onely deprived of his Bishoprick by *John* the ninth, not of his Episcopal Function. But the Church in her great Synod judged the Presbyters of *Colythus* making, in the Church of *Alexandria*, to be no Presbyters, and the Ordination a nullitie, (as is instanced in the case of *Ischiras*) because he was no Bishop, though he pretended himself to be one, as also do these Non-conformers. So likewise for the same cause were those Presbyters ordained by *Maximus* pronounced no Presbyters, by all the Fathers in the Council of *Constantinople.* And 'twere high temerity to establish that for good by a Law that hath

hath been ſo often condemned by Law.

But here is *nihil ad rhombum* ſtill, for what peace can be expected from contrary Orders? Is it not liſting the Clergy in ſeveral battalia's one againſt another? And what ſatisfaction will that give to the Scruple-houſe, where five Parties are ſtill forced to ſcruple at one? Do not the whole Epiſcopal Church account Ordination by Presbyters, or people, or vain pretenſions to the Spirit, or by a Se-ordainer, utterly uncanonicall? And can their Conſcience chuſe but take offence at the allowance of it? Or are they thought ſo tame, that being offended they will make no noiſe about it? 'Tis pity they ſhould fare the worſe for their peaceableneſs. Again, Is the Presbyterian ſatisfied in Conſcience to hear a Gifted Brother officiate that pretends to a Plebeian Ordination? Do not both ſend a *Quo Warranto* after a wandring Star, that ſays he was lighted by the Holy ghoſt? Nor will this pleaſe the wild Sectarie, who eſteems Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Ordination (in *John Simpſon*'s language) the greaſie Palm of Antichriſt, and fanſies a Prieſt in Orders the *Engliſh* Edition of the Pope. Yet *Luther* in Com. in Galat. tells us, men without Ordination, *quanquam quædam ſalutaria afferunt, nihil tamen ædificant:* for *laborem eorum nunquam fortunat Deus.* And S. *Cyp.* unit. Eccleſ. tells us, that by the Sacraments of unordained men, *non tam purgantur quàm ſordidantur*, i. e. the water of Baptizing ſouls, and the Bloud of the Supper ſtains. I dread to think what ἰσχὺν διάχυσιν the Church our Mother will ſhed, when more then a *Jacob* and *Eſau* ſhall be permitted to ſtruggle in her womb.

D. P. p. 36. hath found an expedient here; conſenting

ſenting that the *Biſhops ſhould impoſe hands on the Presbyterians, already ordained, to commend them*, non ad miniſterium, ſed ad exercitium miniſterii, *in any Pariſh to which they ſhall have a Title.* I conceive the miſſive words in Ordination may be ſo formed, as to admit to Orders in the Epiſcopal ſenſe, and yet onely to emit in this Authour's ſenſe: but then, firſt, This provides but for a few Miniſters, and ſo is ſcarce worth the trouble. Secondly, 'Tis very probable, though the Non-conformers agree in this, they will quarrell in ſomething elſe. Let me therefore remember them, that *Theodore* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being ſent by *Vitalian* to King *Egbert*, about the year 668, and finding *Ceadda* not lawfully Ordained; the good man, underſtanding the errour, ſaid, *Si me nôſti Epiſcopatum non ritè ſuſcepiſſe, libenter ab officio recedo:* upon which Submiſſion, *bene tandem conſecratus, in ſedem Dorovernenſem provehitur. Bed.* Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 2. An excellent example of true Chriſtian meekneſs.

6. Their ſixth Plea is *for Liberty of Conſcience*: a principal branch of the *Good old Cauſe*, and intended to open the door of legal Reſtraint to thoſe Legions of Devils that inhabit the fanatick Soul. To effect which, all theſe Authours ſtrive *eminus cominus*, trying every key in the bunch of their ſubtilties. Not all of them ſo ingeniouſly as *Bellius*, *Clebergius*, or Sir *H. Vane* have done before them; yet no leſs earneſtly: for *æqua tentant & iniqua*, they try by hook or by crook to break the door open. And why not? *tentantes ad Trojam tandem pervenere Græci.* He that never ſpeaks, never ſpeeds. They therefore bring a whole troup of Arguments to make room for it.

If

If you would know what this Liberty of Conſcience is, L.C.A. (who moſt diſcreetly handles it) tells you, 'tis *A freedom to doe or omit as Conſcience ſhall direct*, p. 11. ſo that his Queſtion to be debated is, *How far men may be obliged to doe what they ſay is againſt their Conſcience*; and, *How far men may be ſuffered to doe what they ſay their Conſcience obligeth them to doe*, id. ib. Now the granting this freedom by the Magiſtrate is called *Toleration*: which D. R. p. 8. defines to be *A permiſſion of different waies of Religion without the line of the approved way.* So that in this latitude Liberty of Conſcience looks like *Hobbs* his *Leviathan*, a maſterleſs Monſter. This one Law would make the world lawleſs, and doe what is right in their own ſight, not in God's nor the Magiſtrate's: therefore its Advocates ſhackle and trammel this wild beaſt, ſome more, ſome leſs. Firſt, To ſave the King's life, L. C. A. p. 14. conceives *the Magiſtrate not bound to tolerate any thing deſtructive to his being.* But what if the Magiſtrate ſhall believe Toleration it ſelf will deſtroy him? The Authour of the Propoſition plainly affirms, that *Liberty of Conſcience murther'd the late King*; and the Abettors of it were the greateſt Enemies to this Prince's Return and ſettlement. And 'tis to be feared, it hath not yet evaporated its venemous qualities. Secondly, Nor *muſt the Magiſtrate tolerate moral Evils*, L.C.A. p. 50. Thirdly, Nor *any thing againſt common Light, common Intereſt, and natural good of mankind*, L.C.A. p. 49. We thank him for nothing: without theſe Conceſſions the Magiſtrate, like *Serapis* the *Ægyptian* God, might ſtand and hold his finger in his mouth, and all Government were diſſolved. But fourthly, D. R. p. 9. is more liberal, and acknowledges

the Magiſtrate not bound to tolerate diſſenſions, nor any thing *againſt the general Rules of Scripture in ordering the Church*, p.27. But fifthly, D.P.p.85. exceeds all his Brethren, and acknowledges *the Magiſtrate may puniſh with lighter penalties any practice he eſteems erroneous in Religion.*

Having thus ſet down theſe mens Conceſſions, which are onely to leave ſome work for the Magiſtrate, that he may not, like *Epicurus*'s God, ſleep *in intermundiis*; let me obſerve to you, that theſe men jeaſt with us when they plead for Liberty of Conſcience; a thing ſo inſeparable from the rational creature, that no Padlock can confine it. Conſcience is ſo far out of gun-ſhot, that the moſt murthering Cannon cannot reach it. Conſcience is ſubject to no Exile nor Impriſonment, nor can a Rape be committed upon it. The birds in the air or fiſhes in the ſea are not more free. So that the matter of our inquiry is Liberty of *Action*, rather then Liberty of *Conſcience*. And ſo the Queſtion will be, whether the Magiſtrate be bound to let men *doe* in matters of Religion what they ſay their Conſciences oblige them to; or to let them forbear what they ſay their Conſciences bind them to forbear. In anſwer to which we ſay, The Magiſtrate may not permit men to walk by the light of their private Conſciences in matters of Religion.

Firſt, Becauſe the Magiſtrate ought to be *a terrour* (not a tolerator) *of evil-doers*, Rom. 13. but a man may pretend himſelf bound in Conſcience to doe evil; as the *Jew* moſt conſciencioufly blaſphemes the name of *Chriſt*. To this L. C. A. p. 15. anſwers, *the Magiſtrate is onely authorized to puniſh moral evils.* The vanity of which will appear, Firſt, by that Logical Rule, *Propoſitio indefinita in materia neceſſaria æquipollet univerſali.*

ſali. Now all evils deſerve a puniſhment, as well ſpiritual as moral: and many times ſpiritual evils are the greater; therefore he is to be a terrour to them as well as to moral evils. Secondly, S. *Paul* juſtifies this explication, 1 *Tim.* 1. 9. telling us the Law was made to puniſh not onely what is contrary to ſound Reaſon, but to ſound Doctrine too. Thirdly, The *Roman* Magiſtrate, though a Heathen, had right to judge all Cauſes, as well ſpiritual as civil; as appears by S. *Paul's* appeal to him concerning the Reſurrection of the dead, about which he was called in queſtion, and referred the examination to *Cæſar.*

Secondly, If a man may follow the dictates of his Conſcience without controul, he may kill Saints for God's cauſe, *John* 16. 2. and believe himſelf bound in Conſcience ſo to doe: which haply was the caſe of *Vennor* and his Complices. And 'twas once S. *Paul's*, who ſays, He verily thought (to wit, in his Conſcience) that he ought to doe many things contrary to the way of *Chriſt*, and did perſecute from City to City. But no Magiſtrate can diſcharge his Conſcience by permitting men to kill their Neighbours for God's cauſe, and queſtions in Religion. 'Twas *Gallio's* ſcandal, that he drave men from the Judgment-ſeat, and would not meddle in ſuch matters.

Thirdly, Every man is indiſpenſably oblig'd to promote the glory of God, and the Salvation of men, with ſuch talents as he hath received: But the Magiſtrates talent is the civil Sword: Therefore with it is he to propagate God's Worſhip, and ſtop mens ſins. Advice and Admonition belong to every Chriſtian; Reproof and Cenſures to Church-officers; but Correction of ſin by the civil Sword is the Magiſtrate's propriety. L.C.A. p. 24.

acknowledges this Argument in the main, but thinks *he may ſerve God as a Magiſtrate by other powers then by the Sword*, yet confeſſes *no inſtance can fully reach the explication of his notion*, p. 27. And no wonder, ſince it muſt deny the Propoſition or Aſſumption of this Syllogiſm, both yet which are moſt evident Truths.

Fourthly, *The Magiſtrate's power* is confeſſed by L. C. A. p. 12. to be *paternall*: But a Father is bound to uſe the Rod to keep his child from damnation: Therefore is the Father of the Countrey bound to uſe the Sword to keep his Subjects from damnation. Magiſtrates govern not men as brute beaſts, but as indued with immortal Souls; and therefore muſt uſe their power not onely for the ſafety of mens bodies, but the Salvation of their Souls.

Fifthly, The Magiſtrate is God's Shepherd as well as the Miniſter: But Shepherds muſt deſtroy the Wolves that ſtrive to break in to the Flock to devour it, in their proper ſphere; the Miniſter by Church-Cenſures, the Magiſtrate by temporal puniſhment.

Sixthly, To multiply no more Arguments, the laſt ſhall be *ad hominem*: If theſe men believe 'tis the will of God, that every man ſhould enjoy the practice of his Conſcience, why do they reſiſt the will of God by *denying this to the Papiſt?* Yet this they doe, M. I. p. 14. D. R. p. 43, &c. Hath God, upon this general Charter for Liberty, expreſly excepted againſt the Papiſts? or rather do not theſe Pleaders privately confeſs they believe not their own Arguments, which haply prove ſtronger for the Papiſts then themſelves, as may be ſeen anon? Indeed M. I. p. 14. ſays three things for the excluding Papiſts from this Privilege. Firſt, *Their giving*

no aſſurance of Fidelity. But ſurely they have been more faithfull then theſe Sects in the late Rebellion: and the Quakers and Anabaptiſts refuſe to ſwear Fidelity as well as they, &c. Secondly, *By their Principles they can never be good Subjects.* 'Twere well if theſe mens Principles were better. If we are urged to it, we ſhall make it appear, that both halt on the ſame lame ſide. Thirdly, *They themſelves allow no Toleration.* D. P. p. 102. ſhall anſwer it: *O thou Argument! thou art a vile naughty Argument: the Lord rebuke thee.* Do not theſe men remember themſelves guilty in the like kind, that allowed no Toleration of Prelacie? I am weary of theſe fooleries.

Can a man truly love God, and yet ſit patiently to hear his Name diſhonoured, when he hath power to ſuppreſs it? Shall a Magiſtrate puniſh the injuries done to himſelf with all legal ſeverities, yet be ſo cool in God's Cauſe as not to unſheath his Sword? Surely men never were permitted to doe what was right in their own ſight, but in times of Confuſion, when *there was no King in Iſrael.* But when *Aſa* had obtained the Crown, a Vote was made, That whoſoever would not ſeek the Lord God of *Iſrael*, ſhould be put to death, whether ſmall or great, whether man or woman; as you reade 2 *Chron.* 15. 13. And why ſhould the *Jew* be more zealous for the honour of his God then is the Chriſtian? *Moſes*, that ſaw the Looſeneſs contracted by *Iſrael's* bewildred eſtate, tells them plainly, You ſhall not doe as you doe this day, every man what's right in his own eyes, or ſeems good in his own Conſcience. Is Conſcience ſuch a nurſery to damnable Doctrines, that being got in there, the Holineſs of the place muſt defend them? Can it be imagined that Head and Hand-ſins muſt receive

their punishment, and onely Conscience-sins pass under Protection? S. *Paul* says, *Rom.* 13. 4. *If thou dost evil, be afraid of the powers:* but these men say, (If the greatest Blasphemies be committed against God) be not afraid, for the Magistrate hath no power to punish thee. Be not afraid to bring in *Doctrines of Devils*, for the Powers are bound to tolerate thee. Break what Laws thou wilt, and pretend 'tis thy Conscience obliges thee to it, and 'tis a safe Plea, that can't be over-ruled.

But well fare *Charles* the fifth, that engraved on his Sword *Custos utriusque Tabulæ*; judging himself obliged to see the Laws of God executed as well as the Laws of the Land; and to take care that *Christ* have his due, as well as *Cæsar* his.

If you object, That then the Magistrate (if his Conscience should hap to be erroneous) might persecute Piety: I answer, first, So may he in civil Causes punish an innocent man, if his judgment errs; but that doth not annihilate his authority. Secondly, And we may as reasonably suspect an Angel will erre as the Magistrate, since the Apostle's charge is to believe Angels no more then men, in teaching another Gospel, *Gal.* 1. 8. And thirdly, If any be possessed with the spirit of infallibility, 'tis the Magistrate, since the Scripture speaks more favourably of him then of the *Jesuites* Pope, or the Quakers Spiritual man: for *Solomon* saith, *Prov.* 16. 10. *A divine sentence is in the lips of a King; his mouth transgresseth not in judgment.* He may be ignorant in some truths in Divinity, but not in the weighty things of the Law. And if his commands proceed about circumstantials and lesser things, be they according to or dissonant from the truth, the believer is obliged to be silent, upon

S. *Paul's*

S. *Paul*'s rule, who ſaith, *Rom.* 14.22. *Haſt thou faith? have it to thy ſelf before God.* He muſt not flaſh his light in his brother's eyes, and much leſs may he ſet a Church or Kingdom on fire with the ſcattering of it about. And thus much D. P. p. 101. acknowledges, *The tolerated muſt not broach principles to the ſcandal of others:* much leſs then to the ſcandal of a Church. And farther, fourthly, In ſome caſes we are obliged to force our Conſciences, rather then reſiſt Authority; that by once paſſing that River of which it was ſo fearfull, it may at length goe more boldly forward when commanded, without many blows to make it enter. *Chriſt*'s ſheep may be forced into green paſtures, where elſe they will ſtand boggling at the gate. 'Tis the Doctrine of a great Patriarch in theſe mens account, I mean *Ameſ.* l. 1. de Conſc. in recollectionibus ad calcem libri additis, Sect. 27. *Licitum & conſultum eſt, aliquando, agere contra ſcrupulum aliquem Conſcientiæ.* And then, methinks, where Authority appears, 'tis a conſiderable circumſtance to enforce: eſpecially conſidering that of *Plin.* to Trajan, *A Te exigetur ratio; nos excuſabit obſequium.* And *Caſſiodore* ſpeaks but the mind of the civil Law, when he tells you, *Nimis iniquum eſt ut ipſe patiatur diſpendium qui imperium fecit alienum.* But then, fifthly, If Liberty muſt be granted, *then incluſivè*, as P. p. 62. grants, Sovereigns muſt have their Liberty of Conſcience as well as Subjects. And then if their Conſciences tie them to puniſh Errours, what room is left for others Liberty? Princes (if conſciencious) are or may be as really obliged to the making and executing, as others to the tranſgreſſion of the Laws: and then whoſe Conſcience ſhall take place? The Scripture enjoyns the Prince to puniſh

puniſh Diſobedience, as well as it forbids the Subject to obey: ſo that either the Conſciences of Governours, or governed, muſt be oppreſſed. Sixthly, What ſhould Sectaries doe with Liberty of Conſcience, that preach themſelves a poor, afflicted, deſpiſed Flock, and make Afflictions the note of a Child of God, if not a note of the Church? To grant them liberty were to divert their Afflictions, and ſo unchurch them, yea to ſtop up their way to Heaven, which (by falſe application of Scripture to all perſons and times) they hold muſt be *through many tribulations*. Now to juſtifie their Doctrine they will find ſomething elſe to quarrell with Authority about, if you grant them Liberty; and ſo *pro theſauro carbones*, by long fiſhing you get a frog. Seventhly, The common Principles of the Sectaries can endure no Accommodation: for they hold God's Flock *a little Flock*, whom the Powers of this world muſt oppreſs, and they muſt have a World to rail at; and ſhould you conform to them in every thing, there needs no other argument for their deſerting their own way: as one of theſe Authours well obſerves, in the inſtance of wearing *ſhort hair*, which the Non-conformers Conſciences much urged them to, till they ſaw Biſhop *Laud* to commend it to all the Clergy; then they changed, their Conſciences tackt about, and wore all *long hair*. The Sectaries are men of narrow ſpirits, and love a little way. They think multitudes can't go together, but to doe evil; and fanſy huggling together, like a Covy of Partridges in a field, to be the onely Chriſtian way. Like *John* the Baptiſt, they love to be in a deſert; or, like a Hare, to ſit trembling alone in a buſh: and can't be brought, like Doves or Sheep, to feed in great Flocks.

Beſides,

Beſides, they have an iraſcible appetite in them, which is naturally trained up, like a true Bull-dog, to bait Authority: ſo that *Oliver*, their great God-a-mighty, could not ſave his *Noſe* from their reproaches. In a word, *Tacitus* obſerves that, *evulgato Imperii Secreto, alibi Imperatorem fieri poſſe quàm Romæ*; it taught every Legion to proclaim an Emperour for the future. 'Tis well if Obſtinacy and Scrupling, prevailing to overthrow one Law, do not at length ſtrive to overturn all, and tranſlate the whole Government to themſelves. I am of *Nich. Scomberg*'s mind, (though in a far better cauſe) That he that ſees he can force any thing, will at length believe he can force all; and ſo is, by Conceſſion of one, but invited to contend for another. Now they try your patience, the next time they will try their own courage.

But ſtay, let us hear their Reaſons for Liberty of Conſcience. The Firſt is that in the Propoſition, p. 3, 5, 6. *That God hath witneſſed his diſpleaſure againſt the ſharp dealings of Authority by manifold Judgments*: he inſtances in *burning Ships, burning London*, &c. But, firſt, Is he ſure that this Government is worſe then all Governments, becauſe *England* ſuffered ſuch great things? *Chriſt* ſays, *I tell you nay*: but they ſay, Yea, or nothing, *Luke* 13. 1, 2. Secondly, *Solomon* thinks a man cannot *know good or evil by what happens under the Sun*: but theſe know the Government evil by theſe Accidents. Thirdly, Did that Authour's *familiar* that he ſpeaks of p. 86. give him *a dark notice* of the Interpretation of theſe Providences? Fourthly, Do not theſe men turn Polypus's, and *ſervire ſcenæ*? having formerly told us Afflictions were a note of God's people, are they now a note

of the Devil's? Well, let them hear the Poet's curse, *Careat successibus opto*, &c. 'Tis a brave thought of *Lucan*,

Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.

Sure a man may justifie God, without condemning poor *Abel* for his misery. *Job*'s Piety should not be condemned because of his Misery. Let him reade *Eccl.* 7. 10. and he must acknowledge it a foolish Argument.

2. The second Reason common to them all is, that *Toleration must be granted to unite us, and make us strong in War.* For answer, first, A combined Interest reconciles all men of Estates so far as to prosecute a just War, in defence of life and estate, and to secure themselves from forein Oppression. Secondly, Crouching to Male-contents at home dispirits Authority, and hinders forein Conquests. Thirdly, Advancing dissenting Sectaries is a civil War, where Ring-leaders are Generals, Preachers Captains, Congregations Camps, and words at length proceed to blows. Fourthly, Toleration would increase both Papists and Fanaticks; and being let loose, and both increasing, who can assure us they will not fall on both King and Parliament, sooner then on any forein adversary, especially while they smell so strong of *Hacket*'s Principles, to destroy Authority, to make way for the *Fifth Monarchy*? Fifthly, All sober Protestants are reconciled already in the Act of Uniformity: if other mens Consciences keep them from Obedience, what will keep them from Disobedience but Laws duly executed? Sixthly, 'Tis insolent for Subjects to stand on terms of Accommodations with Sovereigns, especially the meanest of Subjects with the best of Princes. No language so well becomes their mouths as Submission.

3. The

3. The third Reaſon is, *There is no hurt in Conventiclers*, P. p. 10. *Non-conformers are ſerious and painfull men*, D. P. p. 87. *They are like* Chriſt, P. p. 69, 70. *Yea* Chriſt's *brethren*, P. p. 71. Therefore grant them Liberty. For anſwer, firſt, I hold my ſelf excuſed from meddling with this Argument, becauſe theſe mens too late crimes have proclaimed a confutation to the world already. Nor am I willing to rake into ſo ſtinking a dunghill, being much more delighted in Charientiſms then Sarcaſms. Onely I take leave to vindicate my Saviour from theſe foul aſperſions. Let theſe Authours ſhew me where or when *Chriſt* murthered his (even tyrannicall) Superiours. Againſt what Authority did he take arms? where did he teach Chriſtians to turn from Prayers and tears to Sword and buckler? when did he preach Subjects into the field againſt Sovereigns, upon pain of Damnation, *curſing Meroz* for being backward to ſet out, &c. as moſt of theſe Miniſters here reſembled to *Chriſt* did? What incouragement did *Chriſt* ever give to Factions amongſt thoſe that profeſſed Chriſtianity? My juſt zeal demands a bluſh from that Authour, for belying our Saviour, and ſaying he was like theſe Sectaries. Beſides, Conventicling againſt Law is a ſin of it ſelf, if they ſinned not in their Conventicles. For 'tis a tranſgreſſion of the Law of God mediately, of man immediately. The Civil Conſcience is obliged by the Civil Law, as well as the Spiritual by the Divine Law. Nor is this a fanſying two Conſciences, but one diſtinguiſhed by its ſeveral Objects about which 'tis exerciſed; for the Conſcience is *mixta perſona* as well as the King, and muſt be judge in all cauſes.

If you object, that if Conſcience be ſo bound to the

Laws, they must be just: I answer, first, Untill they are clearly proved otherwise, *præsumptio est pro authoritate imponentis.* Secondly, They that see them unjust, presume themselves to have more wit then the Authority of the Nation that made them, which cannot be said without pride. D. P. p. 85. says well, *An Act passed on a thing doubted unlawfull, makes it not presently lawfull:* yet sure, the judgment of so many grave men may be a glorious Taper to illuminate, and a strong Cable to bind the scrupling Conscience. Thirdly, The Laws are most probably just when the generality of good men practise them; who have Inspection to discern, Consciences to scruple, Courage to oppose, if they see cause, and Curiosity enough to examine them. The Scruplers therefore must esteem their Notions either Inspirations from God, or Demonstrations *quibus non potest subesse falsum*; or else must judge themselves infallible: otherwise 'tis notorious Insolence, to prefer their own opinions of a Law before the Law it self, and the common judgment of man; especially since *Res judicata pro veritate accipitur* is a necessary Rule in all Laws; and surely to erre with Authority is to erre on the safer side. Fourthly, Admit the Law were unjust, yet it binds: for it binds not as just, but as a Law; it binds to suffering, if not to doing. Oaths may be Perjuries, yet the Judge passes sentence upon them without scruple: so that the Magistrate's Conscience is secured in the execution of the Laws upon Offenders, resigning his judgment of the justice of those Laws to the Legislative power. Fifthly, Nor are Laws in a politick consideration such trifling things as these men fansie. *Petilius* found a Book in *Numa*'s grave expounding the *Roman* Super-

Superſtitions; but becauſe by the Prætor's Oath they were found contrary to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, the Senate adjudged the Book to the flames: ſo carefull were they to uphold the reverence of their Laws. *Demoſth.* orat. in Ariſtog. tells us ὁ νόμος was εὕρημα καὶ δῶρον θεῶν, δόγμα δὲ ἀνθρώπων φρονίμων, &c. and therefore not lightly to be contemned. *Du Moulin* tells the ingenious *Balſac*, though ſomething in Laws be unjuſt, 'tis juſt to obey them; for ſome States have thriven in obeying unjuſt Laws, others in not obeying juſt have periſhed. I wiſh theſe men of *Aurelius* the Emperour's modeſty, who reaſonably reſolves, *Æquius eſt me tot & talium amicorum conſilium, quàm tot, tales, meam unius voluntatem ſequi.* But how then ſhall theſe men anſwer S. *Jude*'s deſcription of Separatiſts, v. 8. that they are *deſpiſers of Dominion, and ſpeak evil of Dignities*? 'Twas once ſaid, *Turpis eſt pars quæ cum toto non convenit*: but now 'tis the higheſt pitch of Piety to oppoſe Authority.

But ſecondly, Is there no hurt in Conventicling? Are they not the *Trojan* horſes whence armed men iſſued forth to ſack great *Priam*'s Territories? Are they not like the *Jeſuites* Order, the very nurſeries of Rebellion? Are they not the ſeed-plot of damnable Doctrines? Do they not ſlay the Souls of men with the Sword of the Spirit? Is not *verbum Domini* amongſt them (as Biſhop *Laud* obſerved) but *verbum diaboli*? Do they not poiſon the ſtreams of the Sanctuary? Yea doth not their very Advocate confeſs, P. p. 57. that *in them they ſpeak againſt the Government, and revile the Rulers of the people*? But this with him may deſerve a bleſſing.

And thirdly, Doth not their beſt Champion L. C. A. p. 48. judge that *they ought to be compelled to Church to hear Sermons?* So that, by their own confeſſion, the Magiſtrate may be bold to execute his Laws to that purpoſe. Yea and doth not D. P. p. 20. declare, *they may lawfully be puniſhed for diſturbing the Eccleſiaſticall order, to the diſquieting of the State?*

4. Their fourth Reaſon is, *They muſt have a Toleration becauſe many thouſands*, P. p. 75. *great numbers*, M. I. p. 9. *the Non-conformers out-balance Conformers*, D. R. p. 28. and D. P. p. 57. I doubt theſe men are drunk with their opinion, and ſee double or treble. They ſwagger as if the Town were their own. May they not be troubled with the *Athenian Thraſylaus* conceit, that all they ſee is their own? But, firſt, Themſelves, in their harangues amongſt their feminine troups, call themſelves a deſpiſed little Flock. Secondly, The late Army alwaies held the ſpirit of this Nation (to uſe their Cant) an *impoſing* ſpirit: and therefore one Major *Creed* reſolved, in one of their Junto's, to draw his Sword againſt a free Parliament, as the common enemy to that Army-darling, Liberty of Conſcience. Thirdly, The moſt part of them are the Riffe-raffe of the Nation: yet I ſay upon my conſcience, that I believe not above a ſeventh part of the people are inclined to Liberty of Conſcience. Fourthly, If their Patron may be a witneſs in the Caſe, L.C.A. p. 21. ſays, *The greateſt part of men deſire a viſible Judge, to ſave them the pains of tedious Enquiries.* Fifthly, They have often tried, and never could chuſe a Parliament for that purpoſe; which is a convincing evidence that they are not the major Vote. Sixthly, They carry great animoſities againſt each other.

Seventh-

Seventhly, The argument is a poling argument, where *Sententiæ numerantur, non ponderantur*, ſays *Plin.* l. 2. ep. 12. Eighthly, Is it prudent to forbear the Cure, becauſe the Leproſie is ſpread all over the body? A great Politician indeed adviſes, *Vir ſapiens nunquam direxit brachia contra Torrentem:* but ſure that advice is more Chriſtian, *Tu nè cede malis*, &c. Faction is a fire kindled in City and Country, and P. p. 37. tells us *the way to quench it is to let it alone:* thus alſo counſells M. I. p. 5. and D. P. p. 6. Well; the Rump did ſo: did that quench, or rather increaſe it much more? that is a convincing Experiment. Errour is a Gangræne, and will ſpread, if permitted. When theſe flouds break out, they muſt be banked up. Ninthly, Neutrality loſes both parts: as *Hen.* 4. of *France* found to his ſorrow. He that hath no Enemy, hath no Friend. How ſhould any think himſelf obliged for that favour that is given to all? Bats are moſt deſpiſed, becauſe a middle between birds and beaſts. Tenthly, Be the Sectaries never ſo many, yet if Chriſtians, they muſt not diſturb the Government. *Tertull.* found Chriſtians to fill the Armies, Markets, Senate, Courts and all; yet they never oppoſed the then-perſecuting Emperours. To conclude, I ever took King in Parliament to be the Strength as well as moſt capacious Intereſt of the Nation. So that to affrighten them with numbers is a Bug-bear, a threat to the Government, and deſerves correction.

5. You muſt tolerate men, for force will doe nothing upon Chriſtians. P. p. 13. *Reſtraint makes Bedlams:* p. 30. *A mere Command makes Diſobedience:* p. 25. *Violence unites them:* p. 38. *Indulgence onely makes them throw off Errours:* p. 53. *Conſcience can't be touched:*

L. C. A.

L.C.A. p. 10. *Force doth no good*: p. 29. *Sword can't hinder Opinions*: M. I. p. 18, 20. *Force is an odious Superintendency over Conſciences.* For anſwer, firſt, God appointed the Sword to be *a terrour to evil-doers*, *Rom.* 13. 3. and I do not think theſe Authours can prove his Inſtitutions frivolous or uſeleſs. If the Sword can doe nothing, S. *Paul* is miſtaken, who thought it would terrifie wicked men. I hope, notwithſtanding their diſcourſe, they will avoid ſin for fear of Hell. Secondly, That ſetting a Law forces Diſobedience, is an Objection that flies in the face of God, as well as of the Parliament; for God hath ſet a royal Law to mankind, which he would never have done, if the mere ſetting a Law forces Diſobedience. Thirdly, Say that it did, yet *the Law* may be *holy, juſt and good*, Rom. 7. 12. the Chain may be Gold though the Dog break his teeth on it. Fourthly, If they believe Indulgence will deſtroy the Sectaries, why do they deny Liberty to the Papiſts? Do they deſire to make the Papiſts more obſtinate by Perſecution? or will they uſe thoſe weapons againſt them that they confeſs can't work upon Conſcience? will they unite them cloſer by acts of violence? or are they ſo unmercifull, as to deny the Papiſts the gentle means of recovery from their Errours? or will Reſtraint onely cure Papiſts, and Liberty Sectaries? If Liberty would diminiſh numbers, why muſt not the Papiſts be this way diminiſhed? At this Peep-hole one may ſee theſe men plead what they do not believe. Fifthly, If force will doe nothing, how comes one of them to ſay, *the King of* Japan *rooted Chriſtianity out of his Country by violence.* Sixthly, But 'tis too certain that force upon Conſcience will doe much. The ingenious Authour of the Inconveniences of Toleration gives

gives two ſad inſtances of it in *Love* and *Jenkins*. But to avoid envy, we will inſtance in S. *Peter*, who abjured his Lord through fear of a Crucifixion. And if force was ſo prevalent on ſo great a Saint, what may it be on this giddy Rout, whoſe tongue is their hardieſt part? Seventhly, To feed the humour with Liberty can never be the way to cure it. Eighthly, The Heathen obſerved, that *Anaxagoras* being fined five Talents, and baniſhed, for aſſerting the Sun to be μύδρον διάπυρον, a globe of fire, none ever affirmed it after. *Tully* obſerves, in his Nat.deor.l. 1. that when the Philoſophers ſaw *Protagoras* puniſhed for ſaying, *De Diis neque ut ſint, neque ut non ſint, habeo dicere*, they were all for the future *tardiores ad ſententiam ſuam profitendam, quippe cùm pœnam nec dubitatio effugere potuiſſet.* And who knows not but the death of *Socrates* laid the foundation of the *Academicks* and *Scepticks?* So that none dar'd poſitively to aſſert the unity of the Godhead for a long time after. *Chriſt* ſays, in tribulation many will fall from the Truth; and (think we) will none fall from their Errours? Should the Powers take that wicked example of the *Rump*, and ſet up Committees and Sequeſtrations, we ſhould ſoon find our richeſt Zelots ſhrink. Ninthly, *Beza* openly proteſts *coram Deo & ipſius Angelis, quas hodie corruptelas paſſim in Eccleſia Dei maximo cum luctu ferre cogimur, eas omnes ab hac tanquam ſcaturigine exortas, quòd Principes*, &c. in his Hæret. mort. puniendis, pag. (mihi) 160. He found all the Schiſms and Hereſies of the Church to ſpring from the negligence of Princes, in not taking care to puniſh them. And doth not *England* ſee them to be the product of licencious times, when there was no Rod of Diſcipline in the Magiſtrate's hand?

Tenthly, 'Tis true, the Sword cannot force the Conscience proximately, but it may remotely. It cuts the body, and thereby frights the Soul. It works on the outward man by Passion, but on the inward by Compassion. It cannot keep men from believing, but it may from publishing Errours. It can confine the Infected from communication, though it cannot drive out the Contagion. L. C. A. p. 29. says, *we must not punish men for want of the Holy Ghost, and supernatural Gifts*: True, but we may for striving to poison their own Souls, by coveting the Rats-bane of Heresies; or for distilling their poison into other mens breasts. But of this more anon.

6. Their next Argument is, The *English* Religion hath been under an ill name. *Serious men have ranked it with Popery*, P. p. 31. *Non-conformers believe it, because you persecute*, &c. p. 34. To this I say, I esteem it not worthy an answer, being rather Railing then Reasoning; and may be used against any way of Worship whatsoever. Was Christianity the worse, because *Julian* the Apostate called it ἀγχονία? or *Christ* the worse, because ranked with Publicans and sinners? or did not the *Pharisees* that reproached him look as grave as these serious men? What if *Pilate*'s malice will rank *Christ* with two Thieves on the Cross? was he not therefore a child of God? What if *Cyprian* be called *Kopriamus*? They that reckoned Popery and Prelacy all one, reckoned also their Prince a Papist: God grant they doe so no more. *Plato* in *Cratylo* tells us, ὃ πάντα δημιουργὸν ὀνομάτων θέσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὃ ἐποβλέποντα εἰς τὸ τῇ φύσει ὄνομα ἕν ἑκάστῳ. He that gives a name ought first fully to understand the thing: but most of them that ranked Popery and Prelacy together

gether neither knew one nor the other. May not the Papiſts as well judge them and us both, that we hate the power of godlineſs in them, becauſe we perſecute them, as theſe do us? Yea and may not the Quaker argue from the ſame Topick? Yet 'tis Idolatry we diſlike in the Papiſt, Atheiſm in the Quaker, and Obſtinacy in both. Were theſe men true Gold, yet may they be caſt into the fire, to purge out remaining Droſs. I know not what Protection God hath given to Errour, Schiſm, Pride, Self-conceit, Rebellion, &c. in the breaſt of an Hypocrite, yea or real Saint, more then in any other. If the Magiſtrate muſt be a terrour to evil-doers, then ſure to ſpiritual evils, becauſe the greateſt of all evils. Nor are any the leſs to be puniſhed, becauſe they call themſelves the *Godly Party*; ſince Authority proceeds on matters of fact and palpable evidence. I leave this Objection as trifling, and proceed to their

7. Which is, That Liberty of Conſcience raiſes Courage in Souldiers, P. p. 45. *It breeds generous ſpirits*, M. I. p. 8. *The Sectaries Obſtinacy is* England's *beſt Courage: It wrought all our Changes*, Prop. p. 46. *It makes men for ever irreconcilable to all Impoſitions*, M. I. p. 13. To which I reply, Firſt, It appears by the Omnipotency aſcribed to Liberty of Conſcience, that it is the Sectaries God, whom they adore not for his Juſtice, but for his Power. It is the beſt overturning Tool in nature; and therefore its Advocates ought to be carefully looked to, and timely ſuppreſſed. Thirdly, An Argument drawn from Strength againſt a Government is no better then a Threat. I hope *tonant ſine fulmine*, their Threats are but Crackers. Fourthly, To grant all that is true in this Argument, it amounts to no

more, then that the Devil is ſtrongeſt when he fights from that Fort called *Conſcience*. Men thus poſſeſt with a ſpiritual frenzie are alwaies ſtronger and more miſchievous then at other times. But muſt we make a League with the Devil, to be of the ſtronger ſide? Fifthly, I confeſs this Liberty is a terrible thing; for no man knows what to call his own, while this Freedom is in uſe. So true is that Maxime, *Cui plus licet quàm par eſt, vult plus quàm licet.* Give the Slave a Sword, and he will ſlaſh his Maſter. Sixthly, The Pleaders are deceived with that uſual fallacy of *non cauſa pro cauſa*: For 'tis a ſtrong preſumption of being God's people, and favoured by him, that raiſes valour to ſo great a pitch: and this is a ſtale trick in the world. All Nations conſulted their Gods; by Birds, Intrails, &c. gave their Souldiers ſome Omen or other of divine favour, which made them preſume of Victory, and ſo to run any hazard whatſoever. What made *Severus*'s Souldiers ſo undaunted, but the ὀνείρατα and χρησμοὶ that he told them he had? The ἐν τούτῳ νίκα made *Conſtantine* to be the Great, and his Souldiers invincible. 'Twas *Cato*'s errour, that he would not deceive himſelf and Souldiers with a fine ſtory brought from the Oracle of *Delphos*, where he was, and much urged by his Army to inquire; for want of which they were conquered before they fought: whereas ſome pious cheat would have made them more terrible then *Bellona* her ſelf. *Curtius* obſerves, that it much furthered *Alexander*'s Conqueſts, that he was voiced to be the Son of *Jupiter Hammon*. 'Twas the ſtrong conceit of Saintſhip in *Oliver* and his deluded Army, grounded on theſe Miniſters encouragements, their Officers frequent and fiery Prayers, and their high pre-

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tence to Reſponſes from Heaven, that (joyned with good Suits of Armour and the City Purſe) made that Army ſo mettleſome. Toleration was ſcarcely pretended in their moſt bloudy conflicts; but was the Itch of an inſolent Army, too highly pamper'd with Loyal bloud. Again, ſeventhly, The *Turks* are a valiant people in War, and *Cromwell* was but a Pygmy to *Mahomet* the great: yet none will ſay *Turks* are for Liberty of Conſcience. And ſurely the *Roman* valour hath left monuments of its Greatneſs in a very large tract of the world; yet none oppoſed Liberty of Conſcience more then they in their moſt flouriſhing times, if you will believe *Liv.* Dec. 4. l. 9. who ſays, *A Romanæ reip. initiis negotium fuiſſe Magiſtratibus datum, ut ſacra externa fieri vetarent—Sacrificulos vatéſque foro, circo, urbe prohiberent; vaticinos libros conquirerent comburerentque; omnem diſciplinam ſacrificandi, præterquam more Romano, abolerent.* If theſe mean it reſtrictively of *England*, let them tell us whether we deſerved the name [*gentis bellicoſiſſimæ*] better when the Rebellious Army was on foot, or 400 years before, when *Ireland*, *Wales*, *France*, *Scotland*, &c. were ſubdued by us. But, eighthly, Theſe men rightly account for Liberty of Conſcience, ſhewing that it is a more ſucceſsfull device for the blowing up any Government then the Powder-Plot was. But 'tis a ſtrange argument to commend it to the King, becauſe it murthered his Father; and to the Parliament, becauſe it overturns Government. 'Tis certain, 'tis the moſt fatal Wild-fire of a Nation, and a ſworn enemy to all Government; and its genuine iſſue are Factions and Diſſenſions, whilſt each party ſtruggles to promote his way. It diſtracts the vulgar, who tend ſtrongly to a Settlement; and in-

vites the Gentry into Faction, to become the Head of that Party are moſt like to receive them. It cuts off the Magiſtrate at the half, leaving him no more of the Subject but the outward man. And could we but ſee the face of it without a vizard, we ſhould diſcern it to be *Ungovernableneſs*. One of theſe Advocates calls it *the mad Earl of Warwick*: then *Bedlam* is fitteſt for it; and thither the Honourable Houſe of Commons having voted it, for me let it goe.

Here I cannot but obſerve the pretty Artifice of the Prop. p. 60. perſuading us to believe, that *if Liberty of Conſcience be granted, Epiſcopacie would drain all the Sects.* If Epiſcopacie could drain the Sects without an Act of Uniformity to aſſiſt it, why not with it? But, alas! a diſeaſe is infectious, but ſo is not health: we may get Hereſies by contagion, but ſeldome Truth. S. *Auguſt.* tells *Boniface, experientiâ edoctus, nullâ re magis quàm Severitate Donatiſtas & Circumcelliones in officio contineri.* Sure theſe Seas of Errours never ſo much overflowed their Banks, till the Rumpers pull'd up the Sluces: and whether Liberty made our Factions dwindle, let the world judge. 'Tis too true a Proverb, *Opportunity makes the Thief.* To ſet open the door, is not the way to keep Errours out.

8. Their eighth Reaſon is, 'Tis a ſin to make men act againſt Conſcience: for Force either debauches Conſcience, or brings Perſecution on mens bodies or eſtates; either of which do make the Forcer guilty, L.C.A.p.45. *'Tis a greater ſin then lying, ſtealing, whoring*, &c. P. p.74. *You were better ſtab him*, p. 73. *He is damned that is made to doe what he thinks not lawfull, and he may never recover his Conſcience again*, p. 75. To this we anſwer,

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firſt, All this Argument is as ſtrong for Toleration of Papiſts as for any elſe; yet theſe men do unitedly deny liberty to them. So that certainly they conceive it not a ſin; or elſe are content to damn themſelves, to ſuppreſs the Papiſts. Secondly, They know that Papiſts, Quakers and Anabaptiſts do declare it againſt their Conſciences to come to our Churches, and hear our Sermons: yet L. C. A. pag. 48. and elſewhere aſſerts *that the Magiſtrate may without ſin compell men to hear Sermons.* Did he therefore believe himſelf, and this Argument to be true, it did ill become him to give the Magiſtrate that direction. If you force the Quaker to come to Church, according to this Argument you debauch his Conſcience, &c. Thirdly, This Argument we are not concerned in; for we plead not againſt liberty of believing or loving, but of profeſſing and practiſing Errours. We ſay with *Cic.* to *Marcellus*, l. 4. ep. 9. *Dicere fortaſſe quæ ſentias non licet, tacere planè licet.* Were their Caſe that of the *Roman* Senate, *Senatus ad otium ſummum, vel ad ſummum nefas vocaretur, Plin.* l. 8. ep. 14. they might ſave their Conſciences by doing nothing. If the Libertines fanſy it a falſe Doctrine they are required to believe, let them hold their peace, and all is well. Laws can make men hide, though not hate, their Errours. 'Tis true, Conſcience ought not, no nor cannot, be touched; but yet mens practices muſt not be allowed. Thus *Beza* determines this Caſe, *Ut non ſit punienda animi opinio, nequaquam tamen ferenda eſt peſtilens & impia profeſſio.* Conſcience is that τὸ ἀσύλλητον that can't be bound; but mens lips may be ſealed, their tongues may be tied, and their bodies moved from Conventicles to Church, &c. and that is all intended. Fourthly,

ly, If the Powers could, or ſome men would make themſelves act againſt the falſe ſuggeſtions of their Conſciences, they would find it a ſaving rather then a ſtabbing Act. For 'tis a falſe ſuggeſtion that of M.I. p. 7. That *he that is true to an erroneous Conſcience is true to God:* for then are all the worſhippers of Sun, Moon and Stars true to God: then was *Adam* true to God, when he was beguiled to eat the forbidden fruit. The truth is, Conſcience is indeed God's Officer; but the Devil hath bribed it to his devotion: and 'tis no felony to thruſt the Devil out of what he hath no right to. But I have ſpoken to this part elſewhere. Fifthly, Say that Perſecution were great Cruelty to them that are in Errour; yet 'tis better one then all to periſh. Surgeons never ſcruple cutting off one member to ſave all the reſt. 'Tis certain, Kindneſs to Errour is Cruelty to Truth; Charity to the Wolf is Murther to the Sheep; Permiſſion to Conventicles is Perſecution of the Church. Indeed D. P. p. 114. tells you, *he pleads the Cauſe of our Lord*: i. e. that his Name may be blaſphemed without fear of puniſhment; that any Worſhip, be it never ſo antiſcripturall, may be offered him without controul. He farther adds, that *he and his Partner plead for mercy*, &c. to wit, that the Wolf may be gently dealt with who worries the Lambs in *Chriſt*'s fold; that the Serpent may be protected to ſeduce *Adam* to his Damnation. Yet certainly, 'tis a ſinfull patience, to ſuffer God's Vineyard to be rooted out. What glory is it to ſhew tenderneſs to the Weed that ſuppreſſeth the Corn? He is no cruel Shepherd that kills the incurable Sheep, to ſave the Flock from infection. *Hæreſeos* (ſays *Eraſmus* in præf. ad Hieron. ep.) *ea eſt inſimulatio, in*

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qua tolerantem eſſe impietas ſit, non virtus. Sixthly, For *Gamaliel*'s advice *to let men alone*, *Beza* ſays, *ex veris principiis falſam elicit conſequentiam*: and *Calvin* on the place upbraids him for a doting and deceitfull Counſellor. Whoſe anſwers I leave with theſe Pleaders, ſuppoſing they will be more gratefull then any I can give. Seventhly, to conclude, This very Argument in the Magiſtrate's mouth riſes up in judgment againſt all our oppoſers: for ſuppoſing the Magiſtrate's Conſcience commands him (as it ought to doe) to take care of the Honour of God, to puniſh Blaſphemy, to nurſe the Church, to be a terrour to evil-doers, to lay out his talent of Power for God, to endeavour God's glory, and the ſuppreſſing of ſin; If he ſhould obſerve his Conſcience, he muſt puniſh theſe men; if not, he ſins againſt his Conſcience, and ſo waſts it, that he may never recover it more. So that theſe men were better ſtab him to the heart, then thus to force him upon Damnation for neglect of his Duty. Thus are trifling diſputes returned upon the head of undiſcerning, and therefore forward, men. See this Caſe in *Edw. 6.* who being urged vehemently by *Cranmer* and *Gardiner*, with *Charles* the Emperour, to permit the Maſs to his Siſter *Mary*, he would not for his life: they preſs the Suit; he wept, and deſired them to forbear: they alſo wept, ſaying, He had more Religion in his little finger then they in their whole bodies; as Sir *Richard Baker* reports *in Vita Edvard. 6.* The occaſion of this trouble to the young King was, a Reſolution given by *Cranmer*, before he forbad the Maſs to his Siſter, That to wink at ſin in hope of return with patience, was no ſin; but wholly to wink after long patience, or to give permiſſion to ſin, was ſin.

And indeed 'twas very true, for *demiſsè ac facilè pati, probantis ſpeciem habeat*, ſays *Cic.* ep. 3. ad Brutum. If now our adverſaries Argument ſtand good, it concludes ſtronger for the Magiſtrate then for the Subject.

9. Their next reaſon is, *Force is no weapon of Chriſt's inſtitution*, L.C.A.p.30. and therefore not to be uſed. *'Tis unproportionate to the malady, to beat the body for the Soul's fault: a Lion or a Dog may thus convert as well as men*, L. C. A. p. 36. *The Apoſtles never took this way*, id. p. 40. *nor is any ſervice acceptable to God but willing ſervice*, id. p. 39. *nor can force ever ſettle the Goſpell*, id. p. 47. To this I anſwer, firſt, Force may be lawfully uſed, (though not commanded) if it be not forbidden; elſe nothing were indifferent. D. R. p. 15. denies *Non-conformers to hold indifferent things unlawfull.* Secondly, That the rod of Correction is not of Divine inſtitution, I think no ſober man will aſſert. *David* ventures to call it God's *Rod*, *Pſ.* 23. 4. and *Mic.* 6. 9. tells us 'tis a preacher of God's miſſion, *Hear ye the Rod, and who hath appointed it.* S. *Ber.* will tell them the will of God is, that the Prieſt ſhould ſmite *gladio oris*, and the Prince *ore gladii.* Thirdly, That the Rod ſhould doe no good is yet more ſtrange, ſince the Scripture everywhere aſſerts, that in mens affliction they will ſeek God early: and certainly one way (and the beſt) to chaſtiſe men is by the Sword of the Magiſtrate. Fourthly, That Lions and Dogs may thus reduce men to better manners, is no queſtion, when God ſhall ſanctifie a danger that ſhall befall men by thoſe Beaſts: an inſtance of which you have 2 *King.* 17. 25. the Lions that ravaged in *Samaria* made the people inquire out the true God. Fifthly, This

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thour acknowledges, the Magiſtrate's Sword may drive men from moral evils; and then what colour can there be to deny it in ſpiritual evils? Sixthly, We muſt remember them, that this Argument is as true in the Papiſt's mouth againſt them, as in their mouth againſt the Magiſtrate. Seventhly, They allow the body may be puniſhed for the moral evils that the Soul commits; yet think it unſuitable for ſpiritual evils. Eighthly, It was not (in an ordinary way) the Apoſtles duty to uſe the civil Sword in ſettling the Goſpell, for that was to invade the Magiſtrate's right: yet we find S. *Peter* ſentencing *Ananias* and *Sapphira* to death. To which our Pleaders reply, 'twas *extraordinary*, L. C. A. p. 3, 4. I anſwer, 'tis true it was ſo, in the manner of the puniſhment, 1. becauſe inflicted by a Prieſt, 2. without viſible means: but in the matter it was not ſo, for Lying is a moral evil. And therefore 'tis to be admired why the Authour ſhould oppoſe it, and ſo ſwerve from his own principles: but I take it to be the product of a ſpirit of contradiction, or the effect of ſleepie oſcitancy. But had the offence been an errour in Conſcience, the puniſhment had been equally defenſible. Ninthly, The Civil Sword is moſt proper to ſettle the Goſpel, as to the publick profeſſion of it, (which is all contended for:) but 'tis the Holy Ghoſt muſt aſſiſt, to erect a throne for it in the heart. Tenthly, That forced ſervice is unacceptable to God, is very falſe: for God ſends afflictions upon men to force them into obedience; he ſcourges his children to bring them home to him, and then accepts their Devotions. Thus *Manaſſeh*'s chains bound him to his duty; and yet God rewarded it with eternall life. And though the ſervice of compulſion be not ſo candid as that of a ſpringing

ſpontaneity; yet 'tis not ſo droſſie as to be rejected. But ſay it were, yet is there ground enough for Force; as S. *Auguſt.* to Gaudent. Ep. 2. l. 2. c. 17. *Quòd autem vobis videtur, invitos ad veritatem non eſſe cogendos, erratis, neſcientes Scripturas, nec virtutem Dei, qui eos volentes facit, dum coguntur inviti.* If the Magiſtrate's power bring their bodies, God's power will bring their Souls. If the Magiſtrate's Pole drive the Fiſh together, God will encompaſs them in his Goſpel-Net.

I ſee nothing more (that is conſiderable) left unanſwered in either of theſe Authours; unleſs it be, That *men are bound to follow an erroneous Conſcience, where the Director or Impoſer is not infallible in his Preſcriptions*; and therefore they ought to have their Liberty. This is urged by L. C. A. p. 41,42. and proved by theſe parts. 1. *That we muſt try all things our ſelves.* 2. *We muſt doe all things in Faith.* 3. *That God will judge us according to our own talent of knowledge, not the Magiſtrate's.* 4. *A man's judgment is uſeleſs, if he may not follow his own light.* 5. *If we muſt follow the Magiſtrate's light, all Idoll-worſhippers will be excuſed*, id. p. 43, 44, 46. To which I reply, firſt, Theſe men do not believe this Argument to be true; for if they did, the Papiſt muſt follow an erroneous Conſcience: why then is he excluded from Toleration? Yea it argues as ſtrongly for the profeſſion of Turciſm, Judaiſm, Heatheniſm, or any thing elſe, as for Presbyterianiſm. Secondly, It argues as ſtrongly for permiſſion of Fifth-monarchiſts to murther the King, if they believe in Conſcience the deſtruction of earthly Powers is the way to advance the Kingdom of *Jeſus Chriſt.* Thus is *Hugh Peters* juſtified for *binding* his *King in chains, and the Nobles in fetters of iron*; for in the

the execution of that Scripture-command he muſt have liberty to follow his Conſcience. Nay, thirdly, This Argument would juſtifie poor men in ſeiſing on the Eſtates of the rich; if once their Conſciences perſuade them, that *the meek* ought to *inherit the earth.* Fourthly, Who doubts but the Scripture is an infallible Director, eſpecially in the mouth of a Prieſt, from whom God hath commanded us to inquire the Law, *Mal.* 2. 7. becauſe he is a meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts? and who can tell the mind of the Prince better then his Embaſſadour? And therefore S. *Paul* charges the *Hebrews*, c. 13. v. 7. to *follow their faith that have the charge over them.* Fifthly, The *Jew* was under the obligation of Conſcience as well as the Chriſtian; yet no Liberty was granted to him to publiſh or practice what Opinion he pleaſed: for *Heb.* 10. 28. *he that deſpiſed Moſes Law died without mercy, under two or three witneſſes:* and is the Goſpell of leſs moment then *Moſes*'s Law? But L. C. A. p.33. replies, *a greater puniſhment, even Damnation, is inflicted for contempt of the Goſpell.* Very true, but ſo was it for contempt of the Law of *Moſes* too. The temporal Judge kills for Murther, and the eternall Judge damns; and ſo did they then, for damnable Doctrines that murthered Souls. Sixthly, Men may uſe their judgment, and follow their own light, and try what they will; onely let them keep it to themſelves: as *Heſter* did her Religion in the Court of King *Ahaſuerus.* Seventhly, This Argument is no leſs ſtrong for the Magiſtrate to proſecute Diſſenters; if he believe in his Conſcience that he is bound to promote the Glory of God, to propagate Truth, and to deſtroy thoſe Boars and Foxes that ſtrive to root up the Vine, or to pick off the

Grapes. In a word, to follow an erroneous Conſcience is ſin; and for the Magiſtrate to indulge a man in ſin, is no leſs cruelty then that of King *Philip*, to bring up his Wife's brother *Alexander* in all kind of Debaucheries, that he might effeminate him, and ſo deprive him of his Kingdome. In this caſe S. *Hieron.* Com. in Ezek. 18. would cry out, and every good Chriſtian with him, *Nolo talem miſericordiam, Domine.*

Now then, *manum de tabula*, 'tis time to conclude. Onely I pray leave to propoſe to this preſent and Honourable *Parliament* the enſuing particulars: which if they conduce not to quiet, yet certainly not to quarrell; if they have little of *Mercury*, they ſhall have nothing of *Mars* in them: and therefore (I preſume) will be patiently heard by a Parliament whoſe Diſcretion vies with their Juſtice, and both ſeem to be Conquerours. A true *Parliamentum pacificum*, Antipodes to the *Parliamentum inſanum*. Never any met with a more dreadfull Diſeaſe; never any made a more perfect Cure. A Parliament that have been infinitely provoked, yet know no Paſſions but by their Names. A Parliament that is like to verifie *Lucian*'s Character of *England*, Ver. hiſt. l. 2. that 'tis *Inſula fortunata & Campi Elyſii.* When *Julius Cæſar* entered it, *captus amœnitate loci redire noluit:* He reſolved to live and die here. With ſuch a Parliament what *Cæſar* would not take up the ſame Reſolution? Yet *Carneades* tells us, wiſe men contrive Laws, and fools judge of them; and therefore no wonder if ſome repine, that doat onely on Liberty of Conſcience. Let ſuch hear that diſcreet Heathen telling them, 'Tis *optimus Reip. ſtatus, ubi nihil deeſt niſi licentia pereundi.* 'Tis a happy want, to be without temptation

ptation to ſin. *Cæſar*, in l. 3. Com. de bello Gallico, obſerves every man to be a Rebell by nature, *Omnes homines naturâ libertati ſtudere, & conditionem ſervitutis odiſſe.* In *Engliſh*, No man would be ruled, if he could rule: Obedience is not of nature, but of grace: therefore 'tis, *In bonos facile eſt imperium.* It muſt be Gold, if ſuperlatively ductile. Which proves our ſeeming ſpiritual men to be too natural, their temper is ſo ungovernable. Authority had need wear Hedging-gloves, when they meddle with theſe ſcratching Thorns. Theſe diſcontented ſpirits breath ſo hot in the face of Authority, that they make the cheeks of their reputation bliſter. But all ſober men will conſider how many and wide Differences this Parliament hath compoſed, how many Swords they have ſheathed, how many Grievances they have removed, how gently they have touched the ſtrings of our Concord, what pains they have taken to modell Oaths, ſo as men might diſown nothing but oppoſition to the Government; and muſt needs declare, That this Parliament (under his MAJESTIE's influence) have been the *Healers of our Breaches, and Reſtorers of paths to dwell in.*

To continue the Parliament's candour and fidelity, 'tis humbly conceived neceſſary, 1. To diſcountenance for the future (as they have now done) all attempts for the Lawleſneſs the Authours here anſwered plead for. I need adde no Reaſons; their own in 1662. given to the KING are the Quinteſſence of the Nation's Reaſon, and therefore muſt be eternal. Yet I may ſay, 1. If Scrupling and Faction repeal Laws, then are they acknowledged ſtronger or honeſter then the Government. Secondly, If Subjects ſee that Coyn paſs for currant,

rant, they will bid it for what-ever Law they take diſtaſt at. 3. If the Parliament be unconſtant to themſelves, men will judge their Acts not to be the product of great Judgment, grave Counſels, and good Conſcience, but rather of Levity and Humour; eſpecially when an Act ſhall be repealed that was ſettled with great debate, printed Reaſons, and deep Reſolutions to ſtand by it. I conceive, though a Parliament be acknowledged fallible, yet an Act ſo carefully formed comes near an Infallibility.

2. 'Tis abſolutely neceſſary for the Parliament to ſtand by the Liturgie. 1. Becauſe they have ſolemnly declared in their Act of Uniformity, that it is comfortable to all Chriſtians, profitable to this Realm, fruitfull in procuring God's bleſſings, an honour to the Reformed Religion, and the neglect of it ſcandalous and dangerous. If this were true in 1662, 'tis no leſſe in 1668. 2. In reſpect of the People's happineſs, who have the ſame means and way to Heaven with their Prince, their Nobles, the reverend Judges, the moſt reverend Biſhops, Doctors and Learned men of the Land. The meaneſt man ſails to Heaven in the ſame Bottome with the greateſt and wiſeſt. So that if men conſciencioufly uſe it, all muſt ſwim, or all ſink together. 3. In reſpect of the Miniſtry, whoſe tender Conſciences muſt needs otherwiſe be filled with great anxieties, for fear leſt their private parts, skill, reaſoning, wiſedom and direction, ſhould not be ſufficient to convey ſo many Souls (as they have charge of) ſafely to Heaven: from which they are in a great meaſure delivered by the Liturgy; the ſtudied aſſiſtence of the whole Church of *England*, by which their Flock is fed and guided in the ſame

ſame manner, in their Devotions, with the beſt accompliſhed man of the Kingdome: men of the greateſt parts having no higher way for the daily Sacrifice then they. 4. In reſpect of the Papiſts, who may juſtly complain of our Perſecutions in this laſt Century of years, for their not coming to our Worſhip, ſince we our ſelves at laſt think it unfit for uſe. Yea in ſo doing this Parliament would declare their Predeceſſors Perſecutors, and condemn all former Parliaments, (except the Rump) as well as themſelves, for unconſcionable Acts; yea and with them condemn the very Reformed Religion in this Kingdome. 5. In reſpect of the Conſequences of ſuch a change; the ſharpeſt Eye-ſight being not able to reach the end of ſuch an attempt. It will well become a ſober Parliament, conſtituted of the moſt ſubſtantial and honeſt Gentry, to leave the Church in ſuch a Conſtitution as ſhe had in the moſt flouriſhing times of our former Princes: leaving it to Rumpers, and others of the like audacious Conſciences, to bring in Sacrilege, Confuſion, Errours, Schiſms, Blaſphemies, Civil wars, &c. and ſo to entail Tortures to their Conſciences, Stains on their Reputations, Curſes on their Families, and Conſumptions on their Eſtates. Which God avert.

3. The Parliament will find all Salvo's, to make way for an Accommodation, utterly pernicious. 1. Becauſe they accuſe the Laws as too rigid. 2. Salvo's oblige none to obey but *Quicunque vult.* 3. The diſobedient ſeem equally innocent with the obedient, and more conſciencious. 4. They permit a Party againſt the Laws, and proclaim variety of judgments. 5. Changing men from compliance with the Law to the benefit of a Salvo, will be called *Converſion* in a little time by ſcrupling

Preachers. 6. All Salvo's are virtual Repeals of a Law.

4. 'Tis certainly neceſſary that the Parliament ſtand faſt to the Government of the Nation, according to their own Explications. 1. Becauſe without them men had ſome pretences to juſtifie a Civil War, which was a ſtrong temptation to the raiſing of it. 2. Becauſe if a Prince cannot wrong, nor can he right his Subjects: if he could doe no hurt, he could doe no good. 3. Becauſe Rebells find alwaies hands too ſtrong for the beſt Laws, and juſt Princes generally find the Laws too weak to protect them; eſpecially in this Iſland, where old *Gildas* long ſince obſerved, the people were *fortes ad Bella civilia.* Yea he adds, *Si quis Principum mitior & veritati aliquatenus propior viderctur, in hunc, quaſi* Britanniæ *ſubverſorem, omnium odia telaque ſine reſpectu torquebantur.* I groan when I reade it; yet our late Times have moſt emphatically Engliſhed it. 4. 'Tis certain, what Odium they can receive from Male-contents, they have received already; being judged (by ſo freely declaring the Law) Propugnators of Laws, Religion, Settlement, the Prince's Rights, and People's Intereſts, and thereby of the Loyall Party: for which the Factious are their implacable enemies. 5. Becauſe the Parties that would be gratified are true enemies to all Government. The diſpute being not what Government, but what Governours, with them. They could no more endure the Long Parliament with their *Ariſtocracie*, nor the Rump with their *Oligarchie*, nor the Protector with his *Olivarchie*, then their lawfull Prince with his regular *Monarchie*. In a word, what they are in Church they are in State; alwaies Reforming, but never Reformed.

5. The

5. The late Vote of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, for putting penall Laws in execution, is moſt juſt. 1. Becauſe every Magiſtrate ought to puniſh injuries done to God, as well as thoſe done to men. 2. To diſtinguiſh the good Subject from the Rebell. 3. To take away temptations from others to grow Factious. 4. To draw the Factious to Repentance by momentany affliction, for the ſaving of their Souls. 5. To bank up the floud of Errours from overflowing an Iſland *aliquid ſemper audire volente, & nihil certi ſtabiliter retinente*, as *Gildas* obſerves of us, and *Bede* confirms Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 8. in the ſelf-ſame words. An Itch after new Factions being as natural to us, as after the new Faſhions of the *French*: a *bad new way* being in all Ages more welcome to us then the *good old way*. 6. If the Law given be neglected, the Law-giver can't be reſpected. 7. A dormant Law ſerves onely to increaſe tranſgreſſion, both in them that ſwear to execute the Laws, and in them that diſobey. 8. By this means a Conſtable or Church-warden in a Pariſh may void the beſt-contrived Sanctions of Parliament. 9. If it be not poſſible to execute a Law, the Contrivers wanted wiſedome; if not lawfull, they wanted Juſtice. 10. If former Laws be voided by neglect of Execution, future Laws will not be fear'd; which tends to diſſolve all Government.

6. 'Tis humbly propoſed to conſideration, whether the Church-wardens Tax for repair of Churches ought not to be levied as the Over-ſeers of the Poor is, by Juſtices Warrant; yea and Vicarage-Tiths be declared poſitive in favour of Vicars, (who have commonly the greateſt work and leaſt wages) and made to be ſued for at Common Law. 1. Becauſe Sectaries ſtand willingly

excommunicate, and are tempted so to doe, by saving their money. 2. The heavy sentence of Excommunication is unproportionable to the detaining a Groat. 3. An Act may be so drawn as not to be Derogative, but Accumulative to Church-Franchises, leaving the Plaintiff to take what way he pleases. 4. It would prevent a thousand clamours against Spiritual Courts, for too frequent Presentments, buying of Time, Excommunicating for Trifles, &c. 5. If all Irregularities were punished with Penalties, and onely Crimes with Excommunication, it would remove a great deal of offence; especially if Excommunication be executed with that Conscience and Gravity a Censure of *Christ* ought to be, and by those hands in which *Christ* left it. I know that Contumacie (as the learned D. *Hammond*, Power of Keys, hath proved) is the onely sin that Excommunication punishes: but 'tis pity to buoy men up into that stubborn Posture for every Trifle; since men may guesse from the equality of punishment, that the Church embraces that Stoicall conceit, that *Omnia peccata sunt æqualia.*

Lastly, That Liberty may be yet more confined, I humbly beg that common Swearing and common Travelling on the Lord's Day may be stopp'd by Parliamentary Authority; lest their general practice should make them (in mens opinions) degenerate from Crimes to Vertues. I would that our Scruplers had set their stomachs against these Vices, and we should soon have been Brethren.

Now (to turn the Tables a little) I become a Petitioner for *Liberty of Conscience*, to wit, That it may be lawfull for Priest and People (without fear of Bailiffs

or

or common Arreſts) to repair to and retire from their Pariſh-Churches upon Sundays: leſt while your Acts command attendance on Divine Service, and Arreſts forbid them, they be forced upon tranſgreſſions.

NOw, Sir, by this you may ſee my ſenſe of theſe Authours and their Deſigns, and what I imagine to be more wholeſome Counſell. If you wonder at my ſtyle, as too biting for my temper; I alledge, that the ſpirit of Meekneſs can be but of little uſe againſt a Party that want Modeſty. Beſides, the nature of this Caſe is ſuch, that the diſcovery of theſe mens Crimes is a confutation of their Cauſe. And our Saviour (though *meek and lowly*) found a whip for the Temple-beaſts, never uſing bitterer expreſſions then to the Saint-like Hypocrites. Wolves in Sheeps cloathing are double-skinn'd, and muſt not be whipp'd with a Noſegay. They cry, with the *Donatiſts*, *Nos ſoli homines*, *cæteri canes & ſues*; proclaim each other *godly* and *ſerious* men: ſo that to have ſmothered the truth, had been to conſpire with the Devil to their Damnation. Upon theſe Reaſons I ſtand at the Bar of your candid Cenſure for my Severity, rejoycing that your Honour will be concerned in the Intereſt of *Chriſt*'s Church, and not, like the *Gallio*'s of our Age, *care for none of theſe things.*

What now remains for me, but to lay down my Pen, and take up my Prayers, That God would grant *England* to ſpeak the ſame things, and think the ſame things, and doe the ſame things; and that (at length) all Animoſities laid aſide, we may all

with one heart and one mouth glorifie the God of our Fathers; ſo that, maugre all oppoſition, *England* may again appear a Nation at unity within it ſelf? Which ſhall be the daily prayer and endeavour of

Dated from my Study,
Apr. 15. 1668.

Your Honour's moſt humble Servant,

Abraham Philotheus.

FINIS.